Textual monumentality and memory in early modern England, 1560–c.1650

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March 2019

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Preface

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the Faculty of History Degree Committee.

Portions of the arguments advanced on pages 85–86; 159–161; and 169–171 draws upon my previously published article, Simone Hanebaum, 'Historical writing? – Richard Wilton's "Booke of particular remembrances", 1584–1634', *The Seventeenth Century* (2018), DOI: 10.1080/0268117X.2018.1485594. This article was the product of personal research carried out for the PhD.

Summary

Simone Hanebaum, Textual monumentality and memory in early modern England, 1560–c.1650

This study examines how manuscript and print culture functioned as a site of memory and commemoration in early modern England, creating 'textual monuments' to individuals, families, and communities. This dissertation shifts scholarly attention from genre and the structures of texts to the commemorative function of a vast array of texts, from diaries to parish histories, to demonstrate the profound impact of identity, religious change, collection, selection and interpretation, and memory on the creation of these textual monuments. This shift of focus to commemorative intent circumvents the pitfalls of genre-driven analysis and encourages a holistic and interdisciplinary study of memory in early modern England. The thesis demonstrates how the term 'monument' diversified and came to take on new meanings. Increasingly, it was used to refer to texts and writing in the post-Reformation period. These changes were in part driven by religious change wrought by the Reformation. The decline of purgatory and traditional religion and the rise of Protestant predestinarian and providential belief shifted the purpose of commemoration to edification of the living. This shift, alongside the rise of literacy and expansion of print culture, shaped what was commemorated about the dead, allowed new forms of commemorative texts to emerge, and created new meanings and interpretive frameworks for existing textual monuments, particularly a return to the biblical tradition of memorialising the grace and power of God. The thesis argues that textual monuments not only commemorated the masculine ideals of the patriarchal householder but also that their creation was an act of masculinity articulating a man's responsibilities for posterity. Finally, the examination of civic, parochial, and personal archives suggests that the archive was inherently monumental and subject to the negotiation of power and authority through processes of selection, transcription, accessibility, and that it commemorated its compilers alongside the communities for which it was created.

Acknowledgements

I could not have undertaken this PhD without the generous support and funding received from the Cambridge Trust in the form of the Cambridge International Scholarship and from the Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council in the form of a Doctoral Fellowship. The ability to pursue my studies debt-free and with financial peace of mind is a privilege I do not take for granted.

Inmeasurable gratitude, respect, and affection is given to my supervisor, Professor Alexandra Walsham. It has been an honour to learn from such a juggernaut in the field, and an even greater joy to have had such a kind, supportive, empathetic supervisor. She has patiently read drafts, empathetically listened to me in moments of frustration, and has always provided thoughtful feedback and encouragement. My fellow 'Walshamites' past and present have been a wonderful source of friendship, collegiality, and intellectual growth. Much love in particular goes to Liesbeth, Harriet, Carys, Fred, Patrick, and Pippa.

Peterhouse has funded all my research trips and my conferences, a generosity for which I am very grateful. More importantly, it has been my home in Cambridge. Monique, Jamie, Victoria, Leo, the two Freddies, Laura, Lukas, Carolina, Theresa, James, Adam, Aidan, Evaline, Charlotte, and Jack – thank you for your friendship. And a big thank you to an honorary Petrean, our yoga instructor Melanie, whose weekly instruction and guidance added so much light to my life when I needed it the most.

The Canadian contingent of graduate students in Cambridge nourished my soul when homesickness kicked in. Thank you/*merci beaucoup*. Especially big hugs are due to the Moran family, to Yani Ioannou (even though he's from Toronto), and Jean-Robert

Lalancette, for being my study buddy, my ‘Cambridge husband’ when I needed a date, and for being the big brother I always wanted.

I continue to receive a wealth of love and support from my Simon Fraser ‘clan’. I thank John Craig and Emily O’Brien for their continued mentorship and friendship with the greatest affection, along with continued support of the the rest of the teaching and support staff in the Department of History. My MA friends Katie, Scott, and Sarah have continued to provide friendship and camaraderie despite our dispersal across two continents. My family in Canada and Italy have given me immeasurable love and support. My ‘Commercial Drive’ community in Vancouver has provided welcome respite from the isolation of academic writing. I owe my sister Katja Hanebaum and Emily Cheung gratitude for helping to proofread my final draft, and big thank you to my cousin, Avril Baldauf, for helping me gain access to books and resources held at the University of British Columbia.

The biggest thanks of all is due to my partner of six years, Gianmarco Spiga. He has been by my side through three years of a long-distance relationship, close to a dozen international flights, and hundreds of hours on Skype. Thank you putting up with me and my old, dead, white guys. And to Scully, who has filled our home with dog hair but even more love and laughter. I was apprehensive about finishing this dissertation in Vancouver in isolation away from Cambridge, but the experience has been all the less lonely with her snoring by my feet. This dissertation is dedicated to them, my ‘pack’, for keeping me in the present and mindful of all its possibilities.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

BHO	*British History Online*
BL	*British Library*
BLARS	*Bedfordshire and Luton Archives and Records Service*
Bodl.	*Bodleian Library, University of Oxford*
BRO	*Bristol Record Office*
CUL	*Cambridge University Library*
CRO	*Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, (formerly Cheshire Record Office)*
DHC	*Devon Heritage Centre*
EEBO	*Early English Books Online*
ELH	*English Literary History*
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
LMA	*London Metropolitan Archives*
NRO	*Norfolk Record Office*
SRO	*Suffolk Record Office*
TNA	*The National Archives*

A Note on Dates and Transcription

All dates are given in New Style, with the year starting on 1 January, unless otherwise stated. Transcriptions of early modern manuscript and print sources have retained their original spelling except in cases where letters are interchangeable, such as i/j or j//y, u/v, or vv/w. In which case, I have transcribed the letter with modern conventions in mind for greater clarity. I have however retained y/i usage, particularly in the case of John Furse to retain his voice. Abbreviations and contractions have been silently expanded in text.

Introduction

What was a monument in Tudor and Stuart England and what did monuments mean to the men and women who encountered them in their lives? The classical Latin definition of *monumentum* or *monimentum* is 'a commemorative statue or building, tomb, reminder, written record or literary work'. While Latin allowed for a more expansive understanding of what a monument was, medieval English defined 'monument' primarily as a tomb or sepulchre. The modern understanding of a monument as 'a statue, building, or other structure erected to commemorate a famous or notable person or event' has some roots in the early fifteenth century in English. However, this understanding of the word did not become current until the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[1]

There are fifteenth-century precedents for use of the term to refer to 'a written document or record' but it became much more widely used in this context in the early modern period. By the Tudor and Stuart periods, a monument could also be something that 'by its survival commemorates and distinguishes a person, action, period, event, etc.; something that serves as a memorial' or similarly, 'an enduring, memorable, outstanding, or imposing example of some quality or attribute'. In other words, a monument could be an artefact from times past, or the epitome of an aesthetic, or a type of art. 'Monument' was also a verb first used in the seventeenth century, meaning 'to cause to be perpetually remembered' or 'to record on a monument'.[2] A monument in early modern England could be a textual record that invoked the memory of someone or something, and the act of 'monumenting' could include writing. It is upon this facet of monumentality that this study will focus.

The increasing use of what I call the 'textual monument' in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries occurred against the backdrop of the Reformation, the

[1] *OED*, s.v. 'monument, n.', accessed 17 July 2017, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/121852.
[2] *OED*, s.v. 'monument, v.', accessed 17 July 2017, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/121853.

increase of literacy, and the expanding use of the printing press in England. The Reformation shifted English society's relationship with commemoration, that is, the preserving of the memory of someone or an event, 'by some solemn observance', here understood to be any conscientious action to remember, including writing.[3] Traditional religion commemorated the dead to invoke intercessory prayers on their behalf in purgatory. It was often ritualistic and included commemorative masses and the reading of obits. It was material in the sense that statues or images represented the dead and the saints as sites of memory to invoke their remembrance. Protestantism repudiated purgatory and the need for intercessory prayer. The reformed doctrine of predestination stated that only a few souls would be saved by divine will, altering the relationship between the living and the dead. Coupled with Protestantism's emphasis on scriptural authority, particularly as it pertained to the Second Commandment against the worship of images and false idols, an ambivalence toward funeral monuments and their use developed. This required negotiation of the belief that the dead were still due the honour and solemnity of remembrance. Textual commemoration was a part of this negotiation.

Sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England was an increasingly literate and textual world.[4] By the sixteenth century, domestic presses in London and the university towns made the circulation of texts and information easier and quicker. In addition to the presses, the Protestant emphasis on the Word and the increase in education among the gentry and middling sort meant that there was greater literacy in both reading and writing. By the end of the sixteenth century, English dominated a great deal of official documentation and publication. Humanist ideals brought classical history, literature, rhetoric, and other liberal arts into the grammar schools where the gentry and upper middling sorts were educated. At school, boys learned

[3] *OED,* s.v. 'Commemoration, n.', accessed 13 February 2019, http://www.oed.com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/Entry/36998?redirectedFrom=commemoration.
[4] On literacy see seminal studies such as David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order; Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1980) and Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500–1700* (Oxford, 2001).

foreign and ancient languages as well as mnemonic strategies such as commonplacing. Increasing litigation in the common law system generated interest in the past, and the creation and preservation of documents in archives. The Tudor state's development required the participation of the gentry and the middling sort in local government to keep the apparatus of the state working through the writing of civic and parochial documents. The written word was everywhere and more easily understood, accessed, and used.

This study examines how manuscript and print culture functioned as sites of memory and commemoration in early modern England, creating 'textual monuments' to individuals, families, and communities. It investigates the content, form, and structure of textual commemoration and how they were shaped by cultural factors such as religious and technological change and the interests, concerns and identities of their creators. It does so by using early modern conceptions of monumentality to appreciate textual culture on its own terms and to respect its experimental and fluid nature. This dissertation proposes a novel approach to understanding early modern memory in England. Shifting our focus to the function of textual culture expands our understanding of what early modern monumentality was. Four particular avenues of inquiry inform my approach: monumentality, memory studies, written culture and material texts, and identity.

Monuments and Monumentality

Early modern scholarship on monumentality has been predominantly concerned with funeral monuments. Nigel Llewellyn's comprehensive and illustrated survey of Tudor and Stuart funeral monuments, published in 2000, appreciated monuments as cultural objects and examined the socio-cultural processes which led to their creation. Llewellyn argued that the primary purpose of funeral monuments was to fill the void left by the deceased in the social fabric of communities, preserving their

place and status within it.[5] He also argued that English funeral monuments remained relatively unchanged in form and function after 1558, despite changes wrought by religious change.

Peter Sherlock criticised Llewellyn's 'secularisation' thesis and greatly expanded on Llewellyn's study in its consideration of religious change.[6] In his monograph, Sherlock examined the 'social and cultural meanings of monuments' and studied them 'on their own terms…as literary, visual and material evidence capable of providing new questions and new answers about early modern England'.[7] In contrast to Llewellyn's work, Sherlock argued that monuments were future-orientated and that, rather than preserving the past, they 'represented an intention to change the present and secure a better future by rewriting the past'.[8] Sherlock also suggested that 'England's tombs remained remarkably religious in the wake of the Reformation' despite claims made to the contrary by contemporary government rhetoric.[9] He corrected Llewellyn's relatively light engagement with epitaphs to suggest that writing came to take on a position of primacy on post-Reformation monuments; imagery supported the epitaph rather than the other way around.[10]

The epitaph often conveyed the biographical details and virtues of the deceased to edify the living. The epitaph sits at the crossroads between the physical, three-dimensional space of the church and the two-dimensional space of textuality. The epitaph was a site that asserted 'the enduring social roles of the deceased' where

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[5] Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 36–37. Numerous case studies also appear in county historical society publications and *The Journal of the Church Monuments Society*.
[6] Peter Sherlock, review of *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, by Nigel Llewellyn, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53 (2002), pp. 601–602.
[7] Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (London, 2008), introduction. VitalSource e-book.
[8] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, introduction. See also Judith Pollmann, 'Archiving the Present and Chronicling for the Future in Early Modern Europe', in 'The Social History of the Archive', edited by Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters, and Alexandra Walsham, *Past and Present* 230, supplement 11 (2016), pp. 231–252.
[9] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, introduction.
[10] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory,* ch. 7.

the dead were 'enlisted…in competing social, religious, and political visions'.[11] The epitaph peaked in popularity in the seventeenth century, and Joshua Scodel traced its relationship to other commemorative forms, including funeral monuments and the elegy.[12] In a monograph published in 2009, Scott Newstok re-evaluated the epitaph and argued that the genre influenced a vast array of seventeenth-century literary genres, including Jacobean drama and elegy, and examined its development against the backdrop of the the tensions between the 'Renaissance cult of remembrance and the fury of iconoclasts'.[13]

More recently Michael Penman and other contributors have examined monuments and monumentality in medieval and early modern Europe.[14] Their purpose was to illustrate 'the wide variety of methodologies and interpretations which have been applied to the investigation of such physical remains and their records' across several different regions in Great Britain and continental Europe.[15] This collection is interdisciplinary but it primarily focuses on physical funeral monuments, despite the fact that the collection's aim to 'understand any monument – as "something that reminds" – in the broadest possible sense'.[16] One essay, however, stands out in its examination of a book as a monument. Claire Bartram examined two historical works by the English antiquarian Francis Thynne (c. 1544–1608) written at the end of the sixteenth century. She investigated how they operated as monuments

[11] Joshua Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph: Commemoration and Conflict from Jonson to Wordsworth* (Ithaca, NY, 1991), p. 4.
[12] For the elegy, see Karen Weisman, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the Elegy* (Oxford, 2010).
[13] Scott Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England: The Poetics of Epitaphs beyond the Grave* (Basingstoke, 2009); and Norbert Lennartz, review of *Quoting Death in Early Modern England: The Poetics of Epitaphs beyond the Grave*, by Scott Newstok, *English Studies* 94 (2013), p. 241.
[14] Michael Penman, ed., *Monuments and Monumentality across Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Proceedings of the 2011 Stirling Conference* (Donington, 2013).
[15] Michael Penman, 'Introduction', in *Monuments and Monumentality across Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Proceedings of the 2011 Stirling Conference*, ed. Michael Penman (Donington, 2013), p. 1.
[16] Penman, 'Introduction', p. 2. Penman cites the following: Chris Scarre, 'Monumentality', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*, ed. Timothy Insoll (Oxford, 2011), p. 9.

and illustrated the 'politics of recording the lives of the living and the dead'.[17] Bartram argued that book writing and giving were acts of monumenting 'within a complex culture of commemoration in which identity was fashioned and perpetuated through a range of media'.[18] Fundamentally, Bartram suggested that texts worked in the 'same way as a funeral effigy or carved epitaph' to commemorate early modern people.[19]

In a similar vein, Andrew Gordon, Thomas Rist, and their colleagues in *The Arts of Remembrance* (2013) argued that

> "arts of remembrance" were omnipresent in in early modern culture: manifest in tombs, statues and churches, but also in the décor of houses and arrangement of manuscripts, as well as the literary construction of poetry and the performative practices of theatre. In their material diversity these works testify to a habit within cultural production of the period that sees in the created object the enactment of remembrance.[20]

For these scholars, 'it is the habit of creating not on the basis of memory but as *remembrance*, that the "arts of remembrance" denote'. [21] These material objects and practices are not driven by the need to recall, but rather by the socio-cultural importance of remembrance, that is, recall imbued with socio-cultural meaning.[22] They argued that the arts of remembrance were not created reflectively, that is they did not 'look into the mind' but rather projected outward onto culture broadly.[23] In addition to embracing a wide range of objects as sites of remembrance, they also

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[17] Claire Bartram, '"Honoured of Posteryte by Record of Wrytinge": Memory, Reputation and the Role of the Book within Commemorative Practices in Late Elizabethan Kent', in *Monuments and Monumentality across Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Proceedings of the 2011 Stirling Conference*, ed. Michael Penman (Donington, 2013), p. 91.
[18] Bartram, 'Memory, Reputation and the Role of the Book', p. 92.
[19] Bartram, 'Memory, Reputation and the Role of the Book', p. 102.
[20] Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist, 'Introduction', in *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post-Reformation*, eds. Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (Farnham, 2013), p. 1.
[21] Gordon and Rist, 'Introduction', p. 1.
[22] This is what the anthropologist Clifford Geertz referred to as 'thick description'. See Clifford Geertz, 'Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture', in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973), pp. 3–30.
[23] Gordon and Rist, 'Introduction', p. 2.

suggest that these objects were inherently part of a 'materialised theological engagement' as English culture sought to make sense of and create meaning for the consequences of religious change. The scholars who examined the textual arts of remembrance studied poetry, manuscript arrangement, and print.[24] Marie-Louise Coolahan argued that husbands posthumously curated the literary productions of their wives, often prayers and devotional writings but some religious poetry as well, to create memorials to their spouses as exemplary Protestant women in manuscript and in print.[25] Thomas Rist's examination of the poems of George Herbert's *The Temple* shows that Herbert used the architectural language of the church and its monumentality to work through his understanding of a '*via media*' in the seventeenth-century English church with 'anti-Calvinist' undertones.[26]

This dissertation builds upon the insights of these scholars to explore the nature of the monumentality of texts, and how they remembered, re-remembered, and commemorated the lives and events of early modern people. It adopts the expansive understanding of what remembrance, or monumentality, was in early modern England to demonstrate its pervasiveness in English society, and the importance of religion in shaping commemoration highlighted by Gordon and Rist. It follows Coolahan's suggestion that manuscript culture was an art of remembrance, and one that had multiple layers. It further acknowledges the literary power and consequences of architectural language, particularly regarding religion as suggested by Rist. In doing so, it seeks to broaden our understanding of commemorative

[24] See Thomas Rist, 'Monuments and Religion: George Herbert's Poetic Materials', in *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post-Reformation*, eds. Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (Farnham, 2013), pp.105–124; Marie-Louise Coolahan, 'Literary Memorialization and Posthumous Construction of Female Authorship', in *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post-Reformation*, eds. Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (Farnham, 2013), pp. 161–178; Tom Healy, '"Making it True": John Foxe's Art of Remembrance', in *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post-Reformation*, eds. Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (Farnham, 2013), pp. 125–140; and Gerard Kilroy, 'A Tangled Chronicle: The Struggle over the Memory of Edmund Campion', in *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post-Reformation*, eds. Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (Farnham, 2013), pp. 141–160.
[25] Coolahan, 'Literary Memorialization'.
[26] Rist, 'Monuments and Religion'.

culture. Historically, monumentality has been limited to three-dimensional monuments. Including the expanding richness of textual culture corrects its omission from studies of monumentality and demonstrates the pervasiveness of the need to remember in early modern society and how it was met.

Memory and the Early Modern Period

Monuments are what the sociologist Pierre Nora referred to as 'sites of memory' or *les lieux de mémoire.* Sites of memory are places where 'memory crystallizes and secretes itself'.[27] Nora argued that 'memory takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects', including funerary monuments and texts.[28] Another memory theorist, Jan Assmann, differentiated between 'communicative memory' which is based on everyday communications such as jokes, anecdotes, or folklore among people belonging to 'groups who conceive of their unity and peculiarity through a common image of the past', and 'cultural memory', which is distant from the 'everyday' with 'fixed points [that] are fateful events of the past, whose memory is maintained through cultural formation (texts, rites, monuments) and institutional communication (recitation, practice, observance)'.[29] Both were inspired by Maurice Halbwachs, who is credited with the development of the idea of 'collective memory' in the 1920s.[30] Collective memory, according to Halbwachs, was 'a matter of how minds work together in society, how their operations are not simply mediated by social arrangements but are in fact structured by them: "It is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories."'[31] He stressed that individuals can only remember the past

[27] Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History; *Les Lieux de Mémoire*', *Representations* 26 (1989), p. 7.
[28] Nora, 'Between Memory and History', p. 9.
[29] Jan Assmann, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', *New German Critique* 65 (1995), pp. 126–7; 128–129.
[30] Halbwachs, a student of Durkheim, was not the first to think of memory socially, but he is the orthodox starting point for memory studies. For a discussion of the intellectual context in which Halbwachs developed his ideas, see the introduction to Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, comps., *The Collective Memory Reader* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 16–22.
[31] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago, 1992), p. 38, quoted in Olick et al., *Collective Memory Reader,* p. 18.

in their social contexts; and that memory carried 'residues' of the meaning of past events which continue to create identity in a collective group through time.[32]

Collective memory has generated a significant amount of scholarly dialogue, causing debates regarding terminology, the relationship between memory and history, and memory's relationship to the study of custom, tradition, and popular memory.[33] The proliferation of alternative definitions is due in part to the growth of memory studies in several different disciplines and theoretical and methodological frameworks, even though all refer to something 'we seem to recognize when we see it'.[34] Fundamentally, memory is 'a wide variety of mnemonic processes, practices, and outcomes, neurological, cognitive, personal, aggregated, and collective', is subject to change, can be held in objects, and 'is in some sense social, whether it occurs in dreams or in pageants, in reminiscences or in textbooks'.[35]

Studies in or related to early modern memory have helped to sketch a better understanding of the nature of memory in the early modern world. Studies by Daniel

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[32] Olick et al, *Collective Memory Reader,* p. 19; Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, 'Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices', *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998), p. 110.

[33] The big terminology debates encompass terms like 'collective memory', 'cultural memory' and 'social memory'. On these terms, and the defence or rejection of their uses see Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory;* Assmann, 'Collective Memory'; Jeffrey K. Olick, 'Collective Memory: The Two Cultures', *Sociological Theory* 17 (1999), pp. 333–348; and Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, 'Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices', *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998), pp. 105–140; and James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992). On the debate between the relationship between history and memory see Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory;* Nora, 'Between Memory and History'; Wulf Kansteiner, 'Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies', *History and Theory* 41 (2002), pp. 179–197; Alan Megill, 'History, Memory, Identity', *History of the Human Sciences* 11 (1998), pp. 37–62; Alon Confino, 'Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method', *The American Historical Review* 102 (1997), pp. 1386–1403; Peter Burke, 'Social History as Memory', in *Memory: History, Culture and the Mind*, edited by Thomas Butler (Malden, 1989), pp. 97–110; and Olick, 'Collective Memory'. For general overviews of memory theory see Barbara Mitzal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (Maidenhead, 2003) and Olick et al., *Collective Memory Reader*.

[34] Maria G. Cattell and Jacob J. Climo, 'Introduction. Meaning in Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives', in *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives,* eds. Maria G. Cattell and Jacob J. Climo (Walnut Creek, CA, 2002), p. 4, and Olick and Robbins, 'Social Memory Studies, p. 105.

[35] Olick, 'Collective Memory: The Two Cultures', p. 346.

Woolf, Alexandra Walsham, and Andy Wood are notable early modern English and/or British studies on memory.[36] The 'Remembering the Reformation' project is making valuable contributions to understanding how the religious changes wrought in the sixteenth century affected early modern memory and its afterlives.[37] In a larger European context, the *Memory before Modernity* (2013) anthology, Judith Pollmann's recent *Memory in Early Modern Europe* (2017) and a special issue of *Memory Studies* dedicated to the early modern period seek to redress the overwhelming emphasis of memory studies on the modern period.[38] Themes that emerge in these studies are the relationship between memory, politics, and memory wars; the 'mediality' of memory, or how memory was preserved in the early modern period in the material culture of the time; the relationship between memory and religious change wrought by the Reformation, and personal memories in early modern western Europe. These studies examine a range of sources including cheap print, manuscripts, oral traditions, and material culture. Not only do these studies give us a better understanding of early modern memory and challenge presuppositions made by modernist historians; they also 'suggest an alternative way of thinking about the history of memory, not as unchanging or linear, but as a

[36] See Daniel Woolf, 'Memory and Historical Culture in Early Modern England', *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 2 (1991), pp. 283–308; Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture, 1500–1730* (Oxford, 2003); Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011); Alexandra Walsham, 'Recycling the Sacred: Material Culture and Cultural Memory after the English Reformation', *Church History* 86 (2017), pp. 1121–1154; Andy Wood, *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2013); Andrew Hiscock, *Reading Memory in Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge, 2011); and Alexandra Walsham, 'History, Memory and the English Reformation', *The Historical Journal* 55 (2012), pp.899–938 for notable early modern English and British scholarship related to memory.

[37] This AHRC-funded project 'Remembering the Reformation', led by Alexandra Walsham at the University of Cambridge and Brian Cummings at the University of York is uncovering 'the manner in which memories of the Reformation emerged or were created in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as the complex and plural legacies such memories have left'. See https://rememberingthereformation.org.uk/.

[38] Erika Kuijpers et al, eds., *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2013), Judith Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, 2017), and Kate Chedgzoy, Elspeth Graham, Katharine Hodgkin and Ramona Wray, eds., 'Memory and the Early Modern', special issue, *Memory Studies* 11 (2018).

cumulative and fluid process in which new ways of engaging with the past constantly emerge and often end up in coexistence with older practices'.[39]

This study contributes to this growing body of literature by investigating how early modern English people used one particular medium or site of memory, the textual, and why. It examines the underappreciated relationship between textual forms and monumentality both generally and particularly. For example, Chapter 4 will examine how archives were formed institutionally and personally and highlight how archives were intrinsically commemorative since what renders a collection of documents an archive is its creation for posterity.[40] It also shows how compilers commemorated themselves alongside communities particularly in the parish and the city. Crucially, this study also suggests that much of the 'why' of early modern mnemonic practices in script and print was fuelled by the desire to commemorate.

Written Culture and Material Texts

Just as Michael Clanchy's study of medieval literacy examined the evolution of memory's relationship with orality and the written record, this study is also concerned with the communication of commemoration in several mediums, especially in print and in manuscript.[41] Earlier histories of the book have argued that the invention of Western printing was a 'revolution' in communication and the cultural impetus for the dawn of modernity.[42] This view reinforced earlier attitudes, dating to the eighteenth century, that 'the invention of printing marked a critical point in the process by which Western European society escaped the yoke of priestly dogmatism and monkish tyranny and launched from intellectual blindness into an age

[39] Judith Pollmann and Erika Kuijpers, 'Introduction. On the Early Modernity of Modern Memory', in *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Erika Kuipjpers et al (Leiden, 2013), p. 23.
[40] The shift from 'muniments' to 'monuments is best described by Eric Ketelaar. See Eric Ketelarr, 'Muniments and Monuments: The Dawn of Archives as Cultural Patrimony', *Archival Science* 7 (2007), pp. 343–357.
[41] Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307* (London, 1979).
[42] Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450–1800*, trans. David Gerard (London, 1976), originally published as, *L'Apparition du livre* (Paris, 1958). See also R. Darnton, 'What Is the History of Books?', *Daedalus* 3 (1982), pp. 65–83; and Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1983).

of Enlightenment'.[43] The perceived primacy of print both in its stability and its ability to communicate truth and authority dates even earlier to the sixteenth-century itself and Protestant polemic; John Foxe described print as God's providential vehicle for spreading the true gospel of the Church.[44] This view has also obscured the relationship of print not only with manuscript, but with oral and material culture as well. Scholars have laid considerable groundwork to demonstrate the 'co-existence, interaction and symbiosis' of various media of communications, and the dynamic and contingent interplay between them in the early modern period.[45] Adam Fox's study of the relationship between literacy and oral culture has demonstrated that print, manuscript and oral culture all played complementary roles in the circulation of knowledge and information.[46] An appreciation of the interplay between these various media has informed studies of proverbs, ballads, plays, gossip, news, sermons, historical knowledge, and literature.[47]

Scholars have shown that instability and dynamism define early modern print. Roger Chartier has explored the competing tensions between early modern people's concerns with stabilising remembrance in the face of the risk of oblivion generated by the mass of information as a result of the proliferation of print, and the need to organise and make sense of new knowledge.[48] Furthermore, the competing and

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[43] Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham, 'Introduction: Script, Print and History', in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*, eds. Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge, 2004), p. 1.
[44] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments…,* 2 vols (London, 1583), vol 2, p. 707.
[45] Crick and Walsham, 'Introduction', p. 4.
[46] Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500–1700* (Oxford, 2000).
[47] Further studies that examine the interplay of these media in the circulation of knowledge include Woolf, *Social Circulation of the Past*; Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, NY, 1995); David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscripts and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge, 2003); Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago, 1999); Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge, 2010); and Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham, eds., *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700* (Cambridge, 2004); and Julie Stone Peters, *Theatre of the Book, 1480–1880: Print, Text and Performance in Europe* (Oxford, 2000), to name but a few.
[48] Roger Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Philadelphia, 2008); and Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the 14th and 18th Centuries* (Stanford, 1994). Further study on the need to organise ever-expanding information, knowledge and the relationship with text is found in Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven, CT, 2011).

reactive interests and motivations of authors, patrons, publishers, and readers of printed texts all challenged the 'fixity' of print.[49] Scribal publication flourished alongside printing, and faced similar negotiations between creators and users of scribal materials as Harold Love has demonstrated.[50] Scribal culture offered different kinds of advantages to print for heterodox or subversive ideas, but as this dissertation argues, it also offered a more immediate and accessible space for commemoration in a variety of formats, including fair-copy manuscripts, notebooks and account books, and paratextual material in books.[51] This study contributes to the study of early modern textual culture by examining the relationship between print, script, and monumentality, and thereby bringing the relationship between text and commemoration into sharper relief. Texts were not only sites of discourse, information gathering, dissemination, and creation, but places where the posterity of the living and the dead was negotiated.

Much of the scholarship on early modern print and manuscript culture utilises the concept of 'material texts', which has played an integral role in our understanding of early modern textual culture.[52] The study of material texts studies stems from book history and suggests that 'books themselves were objects'.[53] It is interested in the production of texts, both manuscript and print, and its techniques; the transmission, circulation, and reception of texts among readers and other audiences; and the book's relationship with other material objects.[54] In print culture,

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[49] Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books*; and Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, 1998). A great deal of studies on textual culture concerns the relationship between texts and their readers. Some examples are: Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker, eds., *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2003); William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, 2008); Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer, eds., *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies* (Philadelphia, 2002); Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism, 1580–1720* (Cambridge, 2011); and Chartier, *The Order of Books*.
[50] Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993).
[51] On paratexts see Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, eds., *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge, 2011).
[52] An excellent survey of the field of material texts is Frances Maguire and Helen Smith, 'Material Texts', in *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling, and David Gaimster (London, 2017), pp. 206–216.
[53] Maguire and Smith, 'Material Texts', p. 206.
[54] Maguire and Smith, 'Material Texts', p. 206.

this stimulated an early interest in watermarks, typeface, and other evidence that could shed light on the movement of texts from manuscript to print.[55] In a seminal study, Donald F. McKenzie argued for further consideration of the transmission and reception of books, suggesting scholars should examine 'visual evidence in books themselves as determinants of meaning, especially the role of craft conventions in choosing a size and style of type', suggesting that 'forms effect meaning'.[56] McKenzie asserted that a text was 'a site of meaning in its own right…[and] always a product of human collaboration and agency'.[57] This approach has chiefly been applied to print culture and the book, but scholars have also examined the materiality of manuscript as well, often reminding us that hard boundaries between script and print are often unhelpful.[58] Harold Love's study of scribal publication, Steven May and Arthur Marotti's examination of the household book of the Tudor yeoman John Hanson, Angus Vine's examination of miscellanies, and James Daybell's study of letter-writing all investigate a variety of manuscript forms as objects, with attention to their production, circulation, and reception.[59] Material text studies also recognise the textual outside the codex and beyond the page in other forms of material culture

[55] Maguire and Smith refer to the early camp of scholars interested in this transmission as the 'New Bibliographers' of the twentieth century, including the Shakespeare scholar W.W. Greg. See W.W. Greg, *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare: A Survey of the Foundations of the Text* (Oxford, 1967); and W.W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio, its Bibliographical and Textual History* (Oxford, 1955). These early studies have been qualified in studies such as: Laurie E. Maguire*, Shakespearean Suspect Texts: The 'Bad' Quartos and Their Context* (Cambridge, 1996); and Paul Werstine, *Early Modern Playhouse Manuscripts and the Editing of Shakespeare* (Cambridge, 2012).
[56] Donald F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 13.
[57] Maguire and Smith, 'Material Texts', p. 207.
[58] See Adam Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2018).
[59] Love, *Scribal Publication*; Steven W. May and Arthur F. Marotti, *Ink, Stink-Bait, Revenge, and Queen Elizabeth: A Yorkshire Yeoman's Household Book* (Ithaca, NY, 2014); Angus Vine, *Miscellaneous Order: Manuscript Culture and Early Modern Organization of Knowledge* (Oxford, 2019), James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512–1635* (Basingstoke, 2012).

including graffiti, and the appearance of text such as biblical quotes and printed images on homewares and in domestic décor.[60]

This study examines early modern texts as commemorative objects and places their mnemonic function at the centre of consideration of their use, their creation, and their evolutions as dynamic texts. It illuminates relationships between the physical commemorative world of the funeral monument and the page and adds to the growing body of evidence that early modern culture involved a symbiotic entanglement of text, orality, and the physical world. The emphasis on manuscript sources and non-literary compilers in this dissertation is part of a growing body of scholarship that corrects previous work that has focused on print and often privileged the works of well-known authors or books within the canon of early modern English literature. Furthermore, the analysis of the commemorative materiality of texts builds on Adam Smyth's work on early modern autobiography to consider motivations for life-writing in a new light.[61]

Identity in Early Modern England

Many early modern textual monuments are exercises in early modern life-writing, and as such, they are sites of memory shaped by early modern identity. In Judith Pollmann's recent examination of early modern memory, she suggested that 'identity scripts' informed how early modern people remembered.[62] Three points made by Pollmann in her study of early modern European memory are useful here. First, there is the notion that 'personal remembering is also very much a social and cultural

[60] Juliet Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (Chicago, 2001); Catherine Richardson, *Shakespeare and Material Culture* (Oxford, 2011); David Gaimster, *German Stoneware, 1200–1900* (London, 1997); Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge, 1991); Andrew Morrall, 'Domestic Decoration and the Bible in the Early Modern Home', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c.1530–1700*, eds. Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (Oxford, 2015): pp. 577–597; Tara Hamling, 'Living with the Bible in Post-Reformation England: The Materiality of Text, Image and Object in Domestic Life', *Studies in Church History* 50 (2014), pp. 210–239; Hugh Adlington, David Griffith, and Tara Hamling, 'Beyond the Page: Quarles's Emblemes, Wall-Paintings, and Godly Interiors in Seventeenth-Century York', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 78 (2015), pp. 521–551.
[61] Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010).
[62] Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, ch. 1.

phenomenon…both the process of remembering itself and the transmission of such memories are shaped by social and cultural expectations and conventions'.[63] Pollmann also suggested that commemorative texts such as 'memoirs' 'were often used to show how someone had "performed" his life in accordance with cultural "scripts" that were used to give meaning to personal experiences and made them easier and more useful to share'.[64] Identity scripts, then, were used not only to dictate what was important to remember, to give meaning to the interpretation and importance of events and the lives of individuals, and how to transmit it, but also to shape the commemoration of individual lives. Finally, their didactic potential made events and memories useful, because 'they taught people not only about the consequences of particular human decisions and forms of behaviour, but also about the ways in which divine providence intervened in their lives'.[65]

Identity scripts were created from the toolboxes of ideals and responsibilities encoded in early modern English society by age, rank, gender, religion, and occupation, to name but a few, and early modern people exercised agency in their self-fashioning from these various scripts.[66] Pollmann's concept echoes Stephen Greenblatt's argument that 'self-fashioning' in Tudor England was the product of a greater 'self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process'.[67] This process shaped how early modern people fashioned themselves in public, representational ways through appearance, actions, and behaviours which were assigned new and shifting cultural meanings in the early modern period.[68]

The didactic purpose of commemoration brought expectations and ideals to the fore for emulation. Piety, belief, and the scripts that dictated religious identity

[63] Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, p. 19
[64] Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, p. 20.
[65] Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, p. 32.
[66] On the relationship between agency and identity, see especially the essays in Henry French and Jonathan Barry, eds. *Identity and Agency in English Society, 1500–1800* (Basingstoke, 2004).
[67] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980), p. 2.
[68] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning,* p. 3.

were thus integral parts of commemoration. This project focuses on the Protestant identity of people who were part of the mainstream, established Church of England and the relationship it had with monumentality.

This study defines mainstream English Protestant identity between 1560 and 1650 as predominantly anti-Catholic, Calvinist, predestinarian, and providential. English Protestantism was defined by its general adherence to Calvin's teachings on predestination, the belief that everything that has ever happened or ever will happen, including salvation, was dictated by divine will. The predestinarian brand of providence was one of the integral theological foundations of Protestant self-fashioning.[69] A belief that the English church was God's true church cultivated a stubborn, jingoistic anti-Catholicism which defined English Protestant identity in Elizabethan and Jacobean England.[70] It was 'nuances of interpretation rather than distinctive doctrinal position' that differentiated mainstream Protestants until the 1620s.[71] This is not to suggest that all Protestants harmoniously and unanimously shared their beliefs, even within their own enclaves in the English Church. Writing on English puritanism, Christopher Durston and Jennifer Eales wrote that there was 'no such thing as a typical man or woman or a typical community in early modern England, and motivation differed greatly from individual to individual and from

[69] Potestants did not have a theological monopoly on providence. On Catholics and providence see Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), chap. 5.
[70] On Anti-Catholicism and Protestant identity see especially David Cressy, *Bonfire and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkeley, 1989) and Walsham, *Providence*, ch. 5.
[71]Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales, 'Introduction: The Protestant Ethos, 1560-1700,' in *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700,* eds. Christopher Durston and Jennifer Eales (Basingstoke, 1996), p. 8. See also Patrick Collinson's conceptualisation of the 'hotter sort' in Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, 1967), pp. 26–27. On the Calvinist consensus see Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism, c.1590–1640* (Oxford, 1987); Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge, 1982), and Peter Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (Cambridge, 1988). The consensus model also informs Alec Ryrie's influential study, Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford, 2013). Critique of the consensus model suggests that it does not account for change over time and homogenises religious experience. See for example, Alexandra Walsham, review of *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*, by Alec Ryrie, *English Historical Review* 129 (2014), pp. 953–954.

location to location'.[72] Individual preference could privilege one aspect of an identity script over another in the process of self-fashioning. The conclusions reached regarding religious change and identity here provide only a sketch rather than a complete picture of the relationship between religious change and monumentality.

Rank also played an important role in establishing identity scripts. Two particular social ranks are notable for this study: the lower gentry and the upper middling sort.[73] A vast amount of early modern England's textual culture was generated by these sections of society as writers, compilers, and consumers. These ranks also shared a large degree of overlap in their responsibilities, ideals, and commemorative interests. Gentlemen were 'those whom their blood and race doth make noble and knowne' and those who 'hath bin notable in riches or vertues.'[74] They owned land and lived off its profits, and cultivated their virtue through lineage, education, rearing, and performance of the 'the port, charge and countenaunce of a gentlemen'.[75] The 'middling sort' was made up of urban elites, namely the citizens and burgesses of towns, who were free citizens of their communities employed as artisans and merchants, as well as the professional classes including lawyers and the clergy.[76] While contemporaries defined the urban elites as separate from the gentry, in practice these two groups often held similar prestige and responsibilities in their respective communities and the economic realities of the early modern period made the boundary between the two social groups porous. Both groups ascribed to commonwealth ideals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were eligible to

[72] Durston and Eale, 'Introduction,' p. 25.
[73] Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500–1700* (Stanford, 1994).
[74] Thomas Smith, *De republica Anglorum The maner of gouernement or policie of the realme of England, compiled by the honorable man Thomas Smyth, Doctor of the ciuil lawes, knight, and principall secretarie vnto the two most worthie princes, King Edwarde the sixt, and Queene Elizabeth. Seene and allowed* (London, 1583), p. 26. For Smith's full discussion of the 'sorts' of people, see pp. 20–34.
[75] Smith, *De republica Anglorum*, pp. 26–7.
[76] On the middling sort and their experiences, see Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks, eds., *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society, and Politics in England, 1550–1800*, (Basingstoke, 1994). Alexandra Shepard's recent study of social worth complicates these social categories, see Alexandra Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2015).

hold civic and parochial offices, and had the wealth to bear the charges that inevitably accompanied public service.[77]

Sources and Methodology

The sources examined in this thesis vary in form from family records written on the end-pages in family bibles, to printed commemorative texts such as elegies and funeral sermons, to civic and parochial documents, and to personal archives. I examine both print and manuscript 'monuments' as products of similar socio-cultural processes but appreciate that 'different registers within [these forms] had always conveyed different messages and carried different values'.[78] The decision to print or write a monument, as well as other compositional decisions, had an impact on their meaning.[79] I examine commonplace books, diaries, notebooks, account books, antiquarian works, sermons, 'autobiographies' and other forms of life-writing.[80] In this my methodology is informed by Adam Smyth's investigation of early modern autobiography and his imaginative examination of accounts, church registers and other documents as life-writing.[81] Like Smyth, I highlight the breadth of textual monumentality and demonstrate that it appeared in several forms of textuality.

My interest in identity and how it informed the creation of these texts resulted in the discarding of sources with no possible author/compiler attribution. I limited the

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[77] On office-holding see, Richard Cust, 'The Public Man in Late Tudor and Stuart England,' in *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England,* ed. Peter Lake and Steve Pincus (Manchester, 2007), pp. 116-143; Mark Goldie, 'The Unacknowledged Republic: Officeholding in Early Modern England,' in *The Politics of the Excluded, c.1500–1850*, ed. Tim Harris (Basingstoke, 2001), pp. 153–194; and Steve Hindle, 'The Political Culture of the Middling Sort in English Rural Communities, c.1550–1700,' in *Politics of the Excluded, c.1500-1800*, ed. Tim Harris (Basingstoke, 2001), pp. 125–152.

[78] Walsham and Crick, 'Introduction', p. 16.

[79] Much of the discussion of materiality and text has focused on book history. On the relationship between 'linguistic text' and 'bibliographic text' see Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton, 1991). See also D. F. McKenzie, 'Typography and Meaning: The Case of William Congreve', in *Making Meaning: 'Printers of the Mind' and Other Essays*, eds. Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez, S. J (Amherst, 2002), pp. 198–236.

[80] Descriptors I used were: commonplace, notebook, journal, diary, chron*(for chronicles, chronologies, or for titles with 'chronological' in them), survey, perambulation, remembrance/r, account and account book, household book, miscellany, chorography, almanac, monument, antiquities, memorial, funeral sermon, epitaph/history, proceeding, memoir, and autobiography.

[81] Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 1.

social scope of my research to members of the lower gentry and the upper middling sort as I am interested in exploring Andy Wood's suggestion that these men were 'culturally amphibious, capable of walking on the firm ground of gentry culture and of swimming within a fluid popular culture', given that they were responsible for producing most of the types of documents I was interested in examining.[82] Taking my lead from feminist scholars and their emphasis on gender in the examination of women's writing, I placed an emphasis on masculinity in my analysis of the impact of identity on the creation of textual monuments. My focus on early modern men stems from the fact that men generated the majority of surviving early modern texts and aims to correct the lack of engagement with manhood in comparison to other identity scripts in regard to life-writing.

This project embraces Gordon and Rist's suggestion that the arts of remembrance, particularly the textual arts, were 'omnipresent in early modern culture'.[83] Shifting the focus of analysis away from types or genres of texts toward their commemorative purpose frees these texts from the assumptions behind generic classification. This is furthered by the use of the early modern period's expansive definition of monumentality. Generic assumptions often result in obscuring some of the contents of these texts, their motivations, and the processes which created them. One example of a generic issue my approach sidesteps is the debate regarding the term 'autobiography', which is often presentist and anachronistic when applied to early modern life-writing. Biography, and by extension autobiography, is concerned with 'childhood, development, psychology, and individuality' and is often written as a narrative of emotional development, displays an interiorised sense of the self, and claims to assert a realistic or 'true' account of one's life.[84] Early modern life-writing, on the other hand, was 'more concerned with community, with spirituality, but most

[82] Wood, *Memory of the People*, p.129
[83] Gordon and Rist, 'Introduction', p. 1.
[84] Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker, 'Introducing Lives', in *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England,* eds. Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Oxford, 2008), p. 4. See also Judith Pollmann's discussion of Rousseau's personal memory in Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 42–45.

of all with the life as exemplar'.[85] Early modern life-writing was meant to project outward into society. The disconnect between modern 'autobiography' and early modern-life writing often means that early modern texts are seen as cold, impersonal, and formulaic. In reality, they display a great deal of individuality and creativity, and the virtues which seem repetitive and possibly 'inauthentic' are in reality the product of motivations often entirely different from those which drive modern autobiography.

Adam Smyth's study has demonstrated the breadth and wealth of life-writing that can be obscured by modern, rigid conceptions of what texts were in a writing culture that was fluid, dynamic, and experimental.[86] He does a commendably imaginative job of unravelling the what and how of life-writing. My own study works from the premise that the *why* of life-writing, on both individual and communal levels, is fundamentally the need to remember and to commemorate, which in part explains much of the emphasis on exemplarity. It explores why this is the case and what impact this had on early modern culture and *vice versa*. In other words, this dissertation is a cultural history of memory, monumentality, and text.

The selective nature of my archival decisions and my inclination toward microhistorical analysis means that the analysis that follows should not be regarded as representative of *all* forms of writing, commemoration, and the motivations for doing so. Rather, it should be treated as emblematic, as a series of snapshots of how some early modern people chose to monument textually and why. Notably absent from this thesis are the well-studied elegiac verses, epitaphs, sermons, poetry and dramas of celebrated literary authors such as John Donne, Ben Jonson, and Shakespeare.[87] Their omission should not suggest that these works and authors are

[85] Sharpe and Zwicker, 'Introducing Lives', p. 4. See also Andrew Cambers, 'Reading, the Godly, and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580-1720', *Journal of British Studies* 46 (2007), pp. 796–825.
[86] Adam Smyth, *Autobiography*, p. 1–2.
[87] See for example Brian Chalk, *Monuments and Literary Posterity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge, 2015); Hiscock, *Reading Memory*; Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn, and Thomas M. Hester, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne* (Oxford, 2011); Hester Lees-Jeffries , *Shakespeare and Memory* (Oxford, 2013); Jonathan Baldo, *Memory in Shakespeare's Histories: Stages of Forgetting in Early Modern England* (London, 2012); Isabel Karremann, *The Drama of Memory in Shakespeare's History Plays* (Cambridge, 2015).

not part of England's commemorative culture. Rather, I deliberately chose to highlight sources that, like Smyth's financial account books, parish registers, commonplace books, and printed almanacs, are underappreciated by scholars for their commemorative potential, and to allow them to speak to us on their own terms.

Chapter one of this dissertation explores the definition and use of the term 'monument'. It traces memorial practices of the medieval period and medieval conceptualisation of *memoria* before examining how the Renaissance and humanist thought, Calvinism, and the English Reformation more broadly affected memory and conceptions of monuments in the sixteenth century. It then examines the works of several early modern writers and their uses of the term 'monument' to explore how early modern use of the term evolved and responded to the cultural shifts wrought by religious and intellectual change. It demonstrates that the term diversified in meaning, particularly over the course of the early modern period, and that there was an increasingly textual dimension to its meaning and use. It also shows that the relationship between textuality and monumentality was fluid and dynamic.

Chapter two shifts our attention to the impact of the Reformation on textual monumentality more specifically. It examines how changes in theology and religious belief, particularly the decline of purgatory, the growth of predestination and the hope for salvation, and the Protestant preoccupation with providence dictated what was recorded in textual monuments and their meaning, both past and present. It suggests that religious change allowed for the exploitation of new sites of commemoration such as family bibles which grew in use and ownership at the end of the sixteenth century and in the early seventeenth century. It also examines printed texts, particularly funeral sermons and commemorative broadsides, and how they complicated understandings of monumentality. It argues that textual commemoration met the continued need for and importance of remembrance. However, textual

commemoration was also sensitive to the cultural attitudes that affected physical monument-building and content.

Chapter three explores an underappreciated facet of identity and its impact on textual culture and memory, namely masculinity. Few studies have examined the proliferation of life-writing and historical culture as products of masculine self-fashioning. This chapter argues that manuscripts kept by men were sites where they self-fashioned and memorialised governing, mature masculinity according to the ideals of early modern manhood. It further suggests that memorialisation was not only a site of self-fashioning and performance, but an act of masculinity as well, in which men performed their responsibility to commemorate. It also demonstrates that women who did participate in commemorative writing often did so in ways that buttressed patriarchal interests.

The final chapter turns its attention to one category of textual monumentality: the archive. It argues that compilers used archives to create monuments to communities, particularly the parish and the city, as well as to themselves. Archival compilers used a variety of tools at their disposal, including transcription, translation, marginalia, and the limitation of access to curate a particular version or narrative of the past and present that buttressed power and authority. It also argues that the archive is intrinsically monumental due to its purpose in the establishment of patrimony for posterity.

This study fundamentally asks the question what were monuments in early modern England, and how was that affected by socio-cultural change and by the people who made them. It expands and questions our understanding of the mediality of early modern memory. By suggesting that texts were monuments and placing their commemorative intent at the centre of historical analysis, this dissertation re-orientates study of these textual sources within their contemporary socio-cultural and linguistic contexts. In doing so, it proposes a creative and novel approach to the study of memory in texts that are often underappreciated as sites of commemoration.

This allows us to interrogate the diversity of monumentality. It challenges the divisions between textual forms in both manuscript and print, and between an individual page, codex, or collection. This allows us to understand how commemorative culture negotiated larger processes of change like the Reformation and adapted to the interplay between memory and identity on both an individual and collective scale.

Chapter 1: Monumentality in Medieval and Early Modern England

Monuments were multimedia things and actions – they were both sites of memory where 'memory crystallizes and secretes itself'and acts of creating memory, commemorating, and remembering.[1] The meanings of this word, and the things and actions it connoted and denoted changed across time. What did these definitions and their changes in meaning mean in the lives of early modern people and the cultural landscape they inhabited? This chapter will survey medieval concepts of memory and monumentality before exploring how two cultural catalysts, Renaissance humanism and the Reformation, changed conceptions of monumentality. It will then examine the meaning and media of monumentality after the Reformation. To explore post-Reformation monumentality, four case studies of antiquarians – John Foxe, John Stow, William Camden and John Weever – will be used. Each was keenly concerned with monuments and monumentality, and the preservation of memory. Through these case studies, this chapter will establish the cultural world view in which the writers and compilers of monumental texts were situated before this dissertation turns to explore some facets of monumentality in greater depth.

Monuments and the Middle Ages (8th–15th centuries)

The term 'monument' appears to have been less used when discussing commemoration and sites of memory in the Middle Ages after 1500. This is perhaps due to the limitation of the use of the word in vernacular European languages in the Middle Ages to apply to physical tombs or sepulchres. This trend may reflect both the preference for other terms in medieval sources themselves and among medieval scholars to describe sites and acts

[1] Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History; *Les Lieux de Mémoire*', *Representations* 26 (1989), p. 7.

of memory. Among modern scholars of the medieval period, *memoria,* or memory, is more commonly used.

In the medieval period, memory was understood to be physical. It embodied objects or sites of memory, including tombs, funeral monuments, and objects associated with particular people, places or events. Among the latter, the relics of saints were potent sites of memory that acted as memorials or monuments to the lives of the saints and their miracles. By extension, sites of memory also included the churches or altars that housed these sacred objects.[2] Medieval memory was also conceived of as a physical space or place in a metaphorical sense. The twelfth-century development of the *ars memoria* methods of recall and remembering explored by Mary Carruthers conceptualised the mind as a memory palace or storehouse in which one would enter a particular room to recall specific types of information stored there.[3] Memory was also imagined physically as a book. Memory and its textual representation, history, and by extension, writing, were viewed as indistinguishable in the medieval period.[4] Thus medieval sites of memory included texts such as cartularies and *Traditionsbücher*, the collections of documents pertaining to the foundation, administration, transactions, and land holdings of monastic institutions. It also extended to chronicles, hagiographies, confraternity books, *Libri memoriales* or *Libri vitae,* which were books containing the names of

[2] Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1994), p. 18.
[3] The dating for the development of the *ars memoria* is from Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, p. 26–27. See also Mary Curruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), and Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307* (Cambridge, 1979).
[4] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, p. 27–28. This conceptualisation of history as 'memory' is not necessarily accepted by modern theorists. Maurice Halbwachs and Pierre Nora for example distinguish between memory and history, while others such as Peter Burke, Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins see history as a part of memory. A particularly clear outline of the various opinions of the relationship between history and memory can be found in Jeffrey Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy (eds), *The Collective Memory Reader* (Oxford, 2011).

individuals both living and dead for whose souls a given clerical confraternity or monastic institution would pray.[5]

Memory in the Middle Ages was also very ritualistic, and by extension, the clergy, both secular and regular, became the conduits *par excellence* of memory in medieval Europe. Memory was central to the Judeo-Christian tradition. In Christianity, memory lay at the heart of the most important sacrament, the Eucharist, as illustrated by verse Luke 22:19 in the Bible where at the Last Supper, when Jesus broke bread, he said 'This is my body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me'.[6] Thus the masses performed by clergy were acts of remembrance and the ultimate memorial of Christ. Masses and the doctrine of transubstantiation also collapsed time by recreating the past in the present as the bread and wine became the literal body and blood of Christ.[7] The rituals surrounding the celebration of Easter, especially the entombment of the Eucharist within a literal sepulchre from Good Friday to Easter Sunday were also fundamentally commemorative in nature, as were the dozens of saints' days held throughout the liturgical calendar. These holy days were often accompanied by specialised masses, processions with the relics of said saints when available, and feasts for the commemoration of their lives and piety.[8] In addition to the commemoration of Christ and the saints, much ritual revolved around the remembrance of the dead. The emergence of confraternities, first among the clergy and then the laity, made sure that the dead were commemorated in prayer. Bequests made by the aristocracy and the

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[55] For cartularies and *traditionsbücher*, see especially Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, ch. 3. For *libri memoriales* see Rosamund McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), chs. 7 & 8; and Eva-Maria Butz and Alfons Zettler, 'The Making of the Carolingian *Libri memoriales*: Exploring or Constructing the Past?', in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture,* eds. Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen, and Mary Franklin-Brown (London, 2013), pp. 79–92.
[6] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, p. 15; Holy Bible, New Revised Standard Version.
[7] On the principle of collapsed time in religious ritual see Gabrielle Spiegal, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993).
[8]On liturgical offices of saints, see Cecilia Gaposchkin, 'Louis IX and Liturgical Memory', in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture*, eds. Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen, and Mary Franklin-Brown (London, 2013), pp. 261–276.

wealthy to monastic houses especially in the earlier part of the Middle Ages ensured that the monks and nuns would inscribe the names of people into their *Libri memoriales* and pray for them. Burial within monastic churches was also a standard practice, and indeed the only burial option, for most families of a knightly rank or above until the thirteenth century.[9]

When the concept of purgatory, the place the dead visited between earthly life and the afterlife in which they suffered and atoned for their sins, became official doctrine in the Church after the second Council of Lyons in 1274, provisions for intercessory commemoration expanded in quantity, form, and access.[10] Funerary monuments and brasses were erected to solicit prayers for the dead, both in monastic churches and, by the fourteenth century, in parish churches. It is intriguing to note that the removal of family mausoleums from monastic houses to local parish churches by the fourteenth century coincided with the rise in popularity of the doctrine of purgatory.[11] The parish church gave a monument greater visibility. Furthermore, the familiar if not intimate connection between lords or prominent persons and their communities could have theoretically elicited more prayers for the dead, and thus shortening their time in purgatory. The vast majority of monuments were written in Latin until the Reformation. However, by the fifteenth century, there was an increase in vernacular epitaphs,

[9] Robert Kinsey, 'The Location of Commemoration in Late Medieval England: the Case of the Thorpes of Northamptonshire', in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England,* eds. Caroline Barron and Clive Burgess (Donington, 2014), pp. 45, 56. On the relationship between royal, aristrocratic and knightly families and monastic houses and their commemoration strategies, see Butz and Zettler, 'The Making of the Carolingian *Libri Memoriales*'; Jennifer Ward, 'Who to Commemorate and Why? The Commemoration of the Nobility in Eastern England in the Fourteenth Century', in *Memory and Commemoration*, eds. Caroline Barron and Clive Burgess (Donington, 2014), pp. 104–116; and Christian Steer, 'Royal and Noble Commemoration in the Mendicant Houses of London, c.1240–1540', in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England*, eds. Caroline Barron and Clive Burgess (Donington, 2014), pp. 117–142.
[10] Mailan S. Doquang, 'Status and the Soul: Commemoration and Intercession in the Rayonnant Chapels of Northern France in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture*, eds. Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen and Mary Franklin-Brown (London, 2013), p. 97.
[11] Robert Kinsey, 'The Location of Commemoration', p. 45, 56

particularly when the epitaph embodied the voice of the deceased directed to the viewer. This development not only suggests greater literacy but also an increase in the expectation of communal involvement in the salvation of the deceased's soul through intercessory prayer.[12]

In addition to funerary monuments, which could be costly and were subject to removal when parish burial space became scarce,[13] people diversified their commemorative strategies with obits and chantries. Obits, or anniversary masses, which effectively reproduced the funerary mass at the point of internment, were viewed as one of the most potent forms of intercession available and were relatively affordable and thus more socially accessible for a greater number of medieval people. These obits could be performed temporarily or on a fixed term as stipulated by the will of the deceased. More enduring schedules of obits were paid for through the gift of a sum of money to a church or cathedral, or provisioned in perpetuity by rents from properties donated to the Church.[14] More potent still were daily masses performed for the soul of the deceased in the form of chantries, which were performed either on an altar in a church amongst dozens of other ceremonies and rituals, or through the construction of chantry chapels within churches which could range from the simple to the very elaborate, as evidenced in the cage chantries of Christchurch Priory built between 1470 and 1530.[15] Chantries were often only available to the wealthy, although by the late fifteenth century they were accessible to richer members of the upper middling sort and the lower gentry such as the

[12] See David Griffith, 'English Commemorative Inscriptions: Some Literary Dimensions', in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England,* eds. Caroline Barron and Clive Burgess (Donington, 2014), pp. 247–266.
[13] Sally Badham, 'The Robertsons Remembered: Two Generations of Calais Staplers at Algarkirk, Lincolnshire', in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England*, eds Caroline Barron and Clive Burgess (Donington, 2014), p. 217.
[14] David Lepine, '"Their Name Liveth For Evermore?": Obits at Exeter Cathedral in the Later Middle Ages', in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England*, eds. Caroline Barron and Clive Burgess (Donington, 2014), pp. 58–74.
[15] Cindy Wood, 'The Cage Chantries of Christchurch Priory', in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England*, eds. Caroline Barron and Clive Burgess (Donington, 2014), pp. 234–252.

Robertsons, a family of wool merchants in Lincolnshire, and the Berkeley family whose cage chantry chapel stood in Christchurch Priory.[16] Other forms of intercessory provisions included charitable alms; bequests to monastic houses, lay confraternities, and guilds; and gifts made to churches in the form of money for repair or goods such as vestments, chalices, lights or commemorative stained-glass windows. Commemoration, particularly when the dead were involved, was fundamentally physical and religious.

Commemoration was gendered in the Middle Ages, and in the succeeding centuries of the early modern period. Much medieval scholarship has demonstrated the role that women played as 'mediators of memory' particularly regarding the commemoration of the dead and the preservation of family history. Women played important roles in nursing at the sick bed (which very often became the death bed in medieval Europe), in witnessing the last rites, in preparing the corpse, and in publicly mourning the dead.[17] They were also vital patrons of the establishment of monasteries, particularly amongst the aristocracy and royalty, and commissioners of commemorative masses.[18] Women were also responsible for passing on the oral traditions of family history and lineage to their children.[19] However, the formal forms of medieval memory – the sites of remembrance whether objects or ritual, from masses to the *libri memoriales*, remained confined to the male clergy. An exception to this is the emergence of lay urban chronicles that begin to appear in London in the fifteenth century, but these too were written by men. The masculine character of formalised and recorded memory, particularly in textual form, would survive the Reformation, and as we shall see in

[1616] Badham, 'The Robertsons Remembered' p. 213–14; Wood, 'The Cage Chantries', p. 238–239, 249.
[17] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, ch. 2.
[18] See Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, ch. 2; Steer, 'Royal and Noble Commemoration'; and Anne-Hélène Allirot, 'Longchamps and Lourcine: The Role of Female Abbeys in the Construction of Capetian Memory (Late Thirteenth to Mid-Fourteenth Centuries)', in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture*, eds. Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen, and Mary Franklin-Brown (London, 2013), pp. 244–260.
[19] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance,* ch. 2; Elisabeth van Houts, 'Changes of Aristocratic Identity: Remarriage and Remembrance in Europe 900–1200', in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture*, eds. Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen, and Mary Franklin-Brown (London, 2013), pp. 221–241.

Chapter 3, textual monumentality became a defining facet of mature manhood among the laity in particular.

While the term 'monument' may not have been used very often to describe sites of memory or acts of commemoration in the medieval context beyond funeral monuments, it is clear that medieval people were very keen 'to monument' and commemorate people, places, and institutions, and deployed a range of strategies, objects, media, and rituals to do so. Much of this monumental momentum would be redirected by the Reformation and by the arrival of Renaissance humanism and Calvinist theology in England in the early modern period.

The Intellectual Underpinning of Sixteenth-Century Monumentality

At the heart of early modern conceptions of monuments lay the Renaissance and humanist thought. Christian humanism in particular played an integral role in shaping both Protestant theologies and attitudes toward memorialization in the early modern period. The Renaissance, the intellectual and cultural 'revolution' that began in fourteenth-century northern Italy, led to the 'rebirth' and rediscovery of classical education, thought, and texts from the ancient Greek and Roman civilisations. This intellectual movement was well established at the English court and the universities by the 1520s.[20] This 'humanist' education became a top priority for the aristocracy and the gentry. The men that could now read classical texts in classical Latin and Greek were exposed to the rhetoric and values of Republican Rome and Athens.[21] These ideals included 'liberty, honour, [and] civic virtue' and by extension political engagement, and the importance of individual rank and reputation.[22] Renaissance thought also placed greater emphasis on the importance of fame, or the remembrance of a person by many

[20] Alec Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation: The Tudor and Stewart Realms, 1485–1603* (Edinburgh, 2009), p. 64.
[21] Ryrie, *Age of Reformation*, p. 64.
[22] Ryrie, *Age of Reformation*, p. 65.

for their accomplishments. Fame became increasingly important in the commemoration of the dead after the Reformation. When the English church set aside the doctrine of purgatory, commemoration lost its primary intercessory function. Part of the reason why monuments survived and continued to be constructed in the post-Reformation period is because they took on new, decidedly Renaissance meanings, and perpetuated Renaissance ideals, particularly in the memorials of elite men.[23] Instead of soliciting prayers for the dead, monuments celebrated the fame and virtues of the deceased.

In his discussion of post-Reformation monuments and memory, Peter Sherlock discussed how English monuments adopted Renaissance architectural and aesthetic developments such as columns, scallop shells, pediments, and other abstract imagery such as garlands and strapwork. He also noted that much of this style was informed by the monumental frontispieces in printed books, and the relationship between monuments and frontispieces in texts remained close within the early modern period.[24] This was especially the case in the Elizabethan period where the anxieties regarding imagery in religious spaces were heightened as religious attitudes towards imagery in monuments remained uncertain. By the early seventeenth century, the personification of cultural ideals, including the cardinal virtues and the liberal arts, began to appear on monuments. Most importantly, the Renaissance concept of fame came to shape epitaphs and monumental imagery. Fame was earned through the earthly merits of the subjects of monuments, and often pulled on the aforementioned classical ideals, as well as Christian ideals such as charity and piety. In addition to fame's influence on what was remembered on monuments themselves, it also justified the existence of monuments in

[23] Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 270–271.
[24] Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2008), ch. 5, VitalSource e-book.

the post-Reformation period and allowed many Protestants to square their religious beliefs with the desire for commemoration.[25]

For Protestants, understanding the meaning of memorialisation meant going back to the Scriptures, a belief that emerged out of principles developed by Christian humanism. The Ten Commandments outline scriptural opinion regarding images. The second commandment (Exodus 20:4–5) states: 'You shall not make for yourself an idol, whether in the form of anything that is in heaven above, or that is on the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. You shall not bow down to them or worship them; for I the Lord your God am a jealous God, punishing children for the iniquity of parents, to the third and the fourth generation of those who reject me'.[26] This, along with the story of Moses' destruction of the Golden Calf (Exodus 32), was frequently cited by contemporaries as the justification for iconoclasm. But the Bible is ambiguous when it comes to funeral monuments. While worship of idols and the creation of graven images was banned, there is a very strong emphasis on remembrance and the obligations owed to the dead in the Bible, which was recognised by contemporaries, and revived by Protestant commemoration. As mentioned, the *libri memoriales* was supposed to be an earthly representation of the scriptural Book of Life, which preserved the names of the elect for the Last Judgment to the Kingdom of Heaven at the end of days. It is mentioned in six of the chapters in the Book of Revelation, as well as in Philippians 4:3, and in Exodus 32 when Moses pleaded for mercy for those who worshipped the Golden Calf,

[25] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, ch. 5; see also Margery Corbett and R.W. Lightbrown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-page in England1550–1660* (London, 1979), and Alistair Fowler, *The Mind of the Book: Pictoral Title-Pages* (Oxford, 2017).

[26] Exodus 20:4–5, New Revised Standard Version. The Geneva Bible (1560), arguably the most Calvinist interpretation and translation of the Bible into English, translated Exodus 20:4–5 as 'Thou shalt make thee no graven image nether anie similitude of things that are in heaven above, nether that are in the earth beneth, nor that there are in the waters under the earth. Thou shalt note bowe downe to them, nether serve them: for I am the Lord thy God, and jealouse God, visiting the iniquitie of the fathers upon the children upon the third generation and upon the fourth of them that hate me'.

God replied, '"Whoever has sinned against me I will blot out of my book'.[27] The embodiment of salvation in a physical object, the Book of Life, within the Bible is rather intriguing in this context. There are dozens of mentions in the Bible of sepulchres, graves, or tombs of various people, from the Biblical kings of the Old Testament to Jesus himself. This speaks to the importance of burial rites in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Interestingly, the term 'monument' was used extremely sparingly in early modern translations of the Bible. The King James Version only uses the term once, in Isaiah 65, a chapter in which God promised his wrath upon the 'rebellious people' 'which remain among the graves, and lodge in the monuments, which eat swine's flesh, and broth of abominable things is in their vessels'.[28] Monuments in Isaiah were sites of superstitious and pagan divinations and consultation with the dead.[29] This condemnation of the misuse of the relationship with the dead likely reflected the translators' contemporary concerns regarding the interaction between the living and the dead.

'Memorials' however, are mentioned multiple times. In the Book of Exodus alone,[30] the term memorial is used in a variety of contexts. In Exodus 3:15, God told Moses, 'Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, the Lord God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you: this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations'.[31] Thus the word of God is God's memorial in perpetuity. In Exodus 12:14 and 13:9, the creation of the celebration of Passover is referred to as a memorial of God's deliverance of the

[27] Exodus 32:33, New Revised Standard Version.
[28] Isaiah 65:4, King James Version. The King James Version is used here as it corresponds with Cruden's *Concordance*. See Alexander Cruden, *Cruden's Complete Concordance to the Old and New Testaments, with notes and Biblical proper names under one alphabetical arrangement*, eds. C.H. Erwin, A.D Adams and S.A. Walter (London, 1930).
[29] See notes on Isaiah 65 in Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger, eds., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with Apocrypha* (Oxford, 1973), p. 903.
[30] Memorials are mentioned several times in other books of the Bible, such as Leviticus (6 mentions), Numbers (6 mentions); and in Joshua, Nehemiah, Esther, Hosea, and Zachariah (1 time in each of these books), and the Psalms (Psalms 9 and 135). See Cruden, *Concordance*, p. 425.
[31] Exodus 3:15, King James Version.

Israelites. In Exodus 17:4, regarding Joshua's defeat of Amalek, God instructed Moses to 'write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua: for I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven'. Thus, the record of Joshua's deeds for the Israelites must be remembered and Moses is directly commanded by God to *write a memorial* in a book. By extension, the Bible itself is a memorial of sorts as the record of the Word of God and his deeds, echoing Exodus 3:15. In Exodus 28 (and 39), the vestments of the Levites, the priestly class among the early Israelites, and Aaron's breastplate of judgement which bore the names of the Israelites, were described as 'a memorial before the Lord continually'.[32] In Exodus 30, God required a tithing of the Israelites. This 'atonement money' was instructed by God to be appointed 'for the service of the tabernacle of the congregation; that it may be a memorial unto the children of Israel before the Lord, to make an atonement for your souls'.[33] In Exodus, there were multiple forms of memorials to God and to the chosen people, and almost all mention of memorials in the Book of Exodus are acts of commemoration of God and his actions or of the Jewish people. In particular these memorials commemorated how the Israelites, as the chosen people, benefited from God's mercy and grace – from money, to vestments, ritual, to the word of God himself.

The New Testament complicates scriptural understanding of physical monuments through the relative dearth of references to them. Of note is the fact that the term 'memorial' is used only three times in the King James Version Bible. The first is in chapter 26 of the Book of Matthew, which records the story of how a woman anointed Christ with precious oils while he was in the house of Simon the leper in Bethany. When the Apostles criticised her actions, arguing that the oil could have been sold for alms for the poor, Christ chastised them and asserted that the woman had anointed him for burial, and thus 'Verily I say unto you, Wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole

[32] Exodus 28:29, King James Version.
[33] Exodus 30:16, King James Version.

world, there shall also this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her'.[34] This woman's actions were an example to those that would hear the Gospel. However, there is no physical monument to be erected to her, like Samuel's Ebenezer Stone to commemorate the Israelites' triumph over the Philistines. Rather, fame and textual reference within the gospel itself commemorated her actions if not her name.[35]

The second New Testament reference to 'memorial' occurs in the Book of Mark and retells the story of the woman in Bethany.[36] The third reference occurs in The Book of Acts. In Chapter 10 God instructed Cornelius the Centurion to seek the Apostle Peter, which impelled Peter to see the Gentiles as recipients of the grace of God, and thus convinced him to forsake Jewish law and keep company with Gentiles. Cornelius' prayers and alms 'are come up for a memorial before God', or that which kept Cornelius in God's memory. Thus, prayers and almsgiving are the memorial of Cornelius, rather than any physical monument. It is rather telling that in choosing the word 'memorial', early modern translators opted to translate the original Hebrew and Greek of the books of the Bible using early modern conceptions of commemoration. The reference to fame and actions as a memorial, in contrast to the very physical nature of memorials in the Old Testament, suggests the influence of Renaissance conceptions of memorialization, and perhaps Protestant hesitancy regarding physical monuments crept into Scripture itself. Given that Protestants turned to the Bible as the true authority, the lenses of the

[34] Matthew 26:13, King James Version.
[35] Ironically, this Bethany woman goes unnamed.
[36] Mark 14:9, King James Version.

translations through which vernacular readers accessed this truth could be coloured by very human concerns.[37]

The Old and New Testaments – or the law and the gospel – may have offered sometimes competing evidence regarding what was worth commemorating and how. John Calvin did not help to clarify things entirely. In his *Institutions of the Christian Religion*, Calvin emphatically condemned images that represented God and his likeness, and what he believed to be the worship of the saints, and their images in particular. Condemnation of images of God and the perceived idolatrous worship of the images of saints was something that united Protestants, but Calvinists were far more suspicious of the hidden dangers of images. Lutherans were far more welcoming to the portrayal of the Virgin Mary and other divine figures in images, and Luther acknowledged the usefulness of images in cultivating piety as didactic tools and in commemoration, as Bridget Heal has demonstrated in her book on the cult of the Virgin in early modern Germany.[38] However, Calvin was stricter in his prescriptions regarding lawful and unlawful monuments. Calvin wrote that 'I am not so superstitious that I thinke no images maye be suffred at al. But forasmuch as carving and painting are the giftes of God, I require that they both be purely and lawfully used'.[39] Images deemed to be lawful were 'onelye those thinges been painted and graven whereof our eies are capable…of this sorte are partly histories and thinges done, partly images and fashions of bodies, without expressing of any thinges done by them'.[40] Acceptable images were earthly, and

[37] On the impact of cultural idioms and conceptions on Biblical translation see Naomi Tadmor, *The Social Universe of the English Bible: Scripture, Society, and Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010).
[38] Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500–1648* (London, 2014), pp. 92–97.
[39] John Calvin, *Institutions of the Christian Religion*, trans. Thomas Norton (London: 1561), fol. 26v.
[40] Calvin, *Institutions*, fol. 26v–27r.

hopefully didactic. Funeral monuments could fit this description as well; they were historical and supposed to teach by example.

But Calvin's acceptance of images was rather reluctant; he 'suffered' them and he accepted them strictly on grounds of lawfulness. Calvin was sceptical about the usefulness of 'lawful' images, which 'were almost al the images that heretofore have stande up in churches'. He wrote 'what profit the seconde can bring save only delectacion, I see not'.[41] Calvin's rather hesitant acceptance of some images is belied by his discussion of the absolute absence of images in the early church:

> Whether it be expedient in Christian temples to have any images at al, that do expresse either thinges done or the bodies of men. First if the authoritie of the aunciente church doe any thyng move us, let us remember that for about 500 yeares together, while religions yet better flourished, and sincere doctrine was in force, the Christian churches were universally without images.[42]

The primacy of the early apostolic church lay at the heart of Protestant liturgy, doctrine, and polemic. The point of the Reformation was to strip away the idolatrous excess and return to the early church. Calvin seemed to suggest that no images in church were the ideal, but he made concessions to historical images and those that articulated the actions of people and events because they were morally didactic. But were the saints instructive or superstitious? Were historical figures at risk of becoming venerated? These questions illustrate the unstable status images held, and how the intention of the viewer shaped much of their meaning. Calvin's statement highlights the innate danger of images because humankind had idolatrous tendencies by nature.

This had consequences for cultures of commemoration in English Protestantism. First and foremost, images played a significant role in the creation of funerary

[41] Calvin, *Institutions,* fol. 27r.
[42] Calvin, *Institutions,* fol. 27r.

monuments, from tombs to brasses. The ambiguity that came from the Reformation's abrupt changes in confession and Calvinist theology meant that Elizabethan tombs only depicted the human form of the deceased and employed abstract motifs like garlands and columns taken from Renaissance art and aesthetic.[43] This is echoed in Lori Anne Farrell's argument that Calvinism allowed for pedagogical figures such as tables and diagrams, as evident in William Perkin's *A Golden Chaine* (1591), as visual aids to illustrate complex theological ideas.[44] Calvin's identification of images without actions present in 'almost al churches' must refer to funerary monuments with their effigies and lack of biographical description, and to the images of the saints, apostles or other figures in the church that were not venerated. This may explain why epitaphs on post-Reformation monuments grew in length and in depth as they articulated the accomplishments and actions of the dead, which would fill the requirement to render these images lawful with the intent to instruct rather than delight. The fact that the preservation of funerary monuments was justified by the didactic use of monuments is rather telling in the light of Calvin's justification.

Images and monuments were not necessarily the same thing, but images were often a part of memorialisation, and commemoration often lay behind the creation of images. Thus, the dangers of idolatry could be viewed as inherent to all images. Calvin argued that John the Evangelist 'willed us to beware not onelye of worshipping of images, but also of images as well': 'Little children, keep yourselves from idols'.[45] Calvin seemed to have taken these words to heart: he was famously buried in an

[43] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, ch. 5. The use of abstract imagery in 'iconophobic' cultures was common in the early modern world. For example, in the Islamic Ottoman Empire Iznik tiles were adorned with abstract patterns and motifs used to decorate buildings such as Topkapi Palace (built 1460–1478) and The Sultan Ahmed Mosque (built 1609–1616), also known as the Blue Mosque, in Istanbul.
[44] Lori Anne Farrell, 'Transfiguring Theology: William Perkins and Calvinist Aesthetics', in *John Foxe and his World*, eds. Christopher Highley and John N. King (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 160–179. It should be noted however that these figures are entirely abstract and do not illustrate people or other 'earthly' things.
[45] 1 John 5:21, King James Version.

unmarked grave when he died in 1564. While some Protestants clearly had no qualms about the erection of monuments and images, others felt more uneasy about the idea. The ever-present danger of idolatry presented by images, coupled with the reformed conviction of humanity's inherent predisposition toward sinfulness, made a zealous avoidance of imagery or practices that flirted with the possibility of idolatry or superstition paramount to godly living.

The Reformation and Monumentality, 1534–1560

The Reformation had a profound effect on commemorative culture in England and marked an evolution in the meaning of monumentality in the sixteenth century. The first attack on medieval commemorative culture did not come until 1536 when the dissolutions of the monasteries began. As discussed previously, monasteries were monuments to their founders and benefactors and sites of commemorative devotion and prayer. Dissolution often led to the seizure of benefactors' gifts, the destruction of tombs and monuments of the dead in monastic spaces, and the destruction and/or dispersal of monastic libraries and archives that kept the *libri memoriales* or similar commemorative texts. The cult of saints was dismantled in the form of articles and injunctions issued by the Crown in 1536 and 1538 respectively. These documents stripped the saints and their monuments of any intercessory power.

Whereas the Henrician church was constrained in its iconoclasm, the Edwardian Reformation, led by convinced Protestants such as Lord Protectors Somerset and Northumberland declared war against the monuments of the medieval past in the name of an evangelical king. The most notable and perhaps the most prominent rupture caused to the Edwardian church was the Chantries Act of 1547, which dissolved chantries and all other intercessory benefaction, including obits, confraternities and guilds, and resulted in seizure of these funds and church goods for the Crown.[46] The Forty-Two

[46] Marshall, *Reformation England*, p. 64–5.

Articles outlining the doctrine of the English Church, drawn up by Cranmer and published in 1553, put the nail in the coffin of purgatory. The Edwardian 1547 Injunctions banned all lights and offerings, and made it very clear that parishes were directed to 'extinct and destroy… *all other monuments of feigned miracles, idolatry, and superstition:* so that there remains *no memory* of the same in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere in their churches or houses'.[47] The 1547 injunctions did not explicitly include funerary monuments in the necessary stripping of church interiors but they were often caught in the crosshairs of royal commissioners and local communities. The destruction of monuments was carried out for a diverse array of reasons, including true belief in the idolatrous nature of graven images and the pragmatic sale of memorial brasses so that communities could benefit fiscally from their sale instead of the Crown.[48] The relatively broad definition of images in the Injunctions, and the inconsistency of the Crown and episcopacy's response to and attitudes toward the destruction of funeral monuments meant that 'the scale of destruction in 1547–1553 was entirely unprecedented'.[49] This meant that funeral monuments and other forms of commemoration became targets of iconoclasm, and were often at the mercy of regional differences and contexts.[50] The Edwardian Reformation was brought to a screeching halt by the accession of the Catholic Mary Tudor in 1553, and this led to the reinstatement of Catholic doctrine and the sacramental nature of worship of the Roman church. Although there was a recovery

[47] W.H. Frere and W.M. Kennedy, eds. *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, vol. 2, *1536–1558* (London, 1910), p. 126. Italics are my emphasis.
[48] Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, p. 104–108.
[49] Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, p. 104.
[50] See for example Margaret Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2011); and Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts: Laws against Images* (Oxford, 1988).

of and increase in intercessory bequests after 1555, five years was not an adequate amount of time to fully restore the English church to its pre-1534 state.[51]

Protestantism returned with the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558, and the Elizabethan settlement restored the monarch as the Supreme Governor of the Church, a title Mary naturally eschewed as a Catholic loyal to the papacy, and reintroduced the use of the Book of Common Prayer (1552 edition) in the English liturgy. In 1559, ecclesiastical visitations were conducted across the country to roll back Catholicism once again. Echoing the 1547 Injunctions, The Royal Articles of 1559 instructed visitors to enquire after '*all other monuments* of feigned and false miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition be removed, abolished, and destroyed' and to determine whether anyone in the parish had salvaged these church goods and kept them in their homes.[52] In this context, monuments became dangerous when, as sites of memory, they held the memory of Catholic ritual and 'superstition'. What was remembered dictated what a 'good' monument was in the Protestant Tudor world. Many of the visitors and several of Elizabeth's bishops had been Protestant exiles under Mary. During the visitations, commissioners and local communities alike dismantled the objects of Catholic ritual, but like their Edwardian predecessors they too targeted funerary monuments. The influence of Calvinist theology, and of Calvin's ambivalence to monuments, complicated the relationship between religion and remembrance in the post-Reformation period.

Destruction of tombs was severe enough for the Crown to issue a royal proclamation 'Prohibiting Destruction of Church Monuments' in 1560. This prohibited the defacement and destruction of monuments, and stated that monuments existed 'only

[51] Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, p. 117–118. Eamon Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580*, 2 ed. (New Haven, 2005), pp. 565–567.
[52]W.H. Frere and W.M. Kennedy, eds. *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation,* vol. 3, *1559–1575* (London, 1910), pp. 2, 6. Italics are my emphasis.

to shewe a memory to the posteritie of the persons there buryed, or that had ben benefactours to the buyldynges, or dotations [sic] of the same Churches or publique places and not to noryshe any kind of superstition'.[53] The destruction of monuments was not only an offence to 'all noble and gentle hartes and…the honorable and good memorye of sundry vertuous and noble persons deceassed' but it also had personal and potentially legal ramifications.[54] The destruction of monuments affected 'the true understandyng of divers families in this Realme (who have descended of the bloud of the same persons deceased)' causing it to be 'thereby so darkened as the true course of theyr inheritaunce may be hereafter interrupted, contrary to Justice, besides many other offences that hereof do ensue, to the sclaunder [sic] of such as eyther'.[55] The 1560 proclamation thus placed greater emphasis on the historical and didactic purposes of early modern memory than had existed in pre-Reformation commemoration. However, the division between acceptable didactic monuments and 'superstitious' ones was not clearly articulated in the cultural space of the parish church, where pre-Reformation monuments with an intercessory purpose still existed in churches at the time of the Elizabethan Settlement.[56] As Peter Marshall has argued, evidence of the enforcement of the royal proclamation is patchy at best, and suggests that either the destruction of monuments was overstated by later antiquarians – and this is possible since in their lament for the loss of the past they ironically demonstrate the level of survival of medieval monuments – or there was little attempt by the government to crack down on iconoclasm as evidenced by the 'extraordinarily lax episcopal response to this government policy initiative'.[57] Monuments, it seems, were destined to remain

[53] England and Wales. Sovereign (1558–1603: Elizabeth I*), A proclamation against breakinge or defacing of monumentes of antiquitie, beyng set up in churches or other publique places for memory and not for supersticion* (London, 1560). See also Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, eds. *The Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol. 2, *The Later Tudors, 1553–1587* (New Haven, 1969), pp. 146–147.
[54] England and Wales, *A proclamation against defacing of monumentes*.
[55] England and Wales, *A proclamation against defacing of monumentes*.
[56] Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, p. 170–171.
[57] Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, pp. 174, 171.

ambiguous and flexible entities well into the seventeenth century, and sites of tensions between various cross sections of English society for decades to come.

Post-Reformation Monuments: Foxe, Stow, Camden, and Weever

What were monuments in post-Reformation England? Early modern antiquarians were highly concerned about monuments, memorialisation, and commemoration. This preoccupation with monuments sat at an intersection between anxieties regarding iconoclasm and burgeoning interests in the collection and preservation of the past fostered by humanist education. This was particularly true after periodic episodes of iconoclasm during the reigns of Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth I despite the 1560 proclamation issued by the queen against the defacement of monuments. While there was no sustained or sanctioned attack upon monuments until the 1640s, monuments were destroyed, removed, or defaced for reasons varying from the spiritual to the financial in multiple local contexts across the eight decades between Elizabeth's accession and the outbreak of civil war. Furthermore, the rise of the genealogical craze, access to vernacular histories, chronicles, and chorographies in full or truncated forms, and interest in collecting documents and artefacts from the past, from the Bronze Age to the medieval period, generated an interest in the past and its preservation.[58] The following case studies of John Foxe, John Stow, William Camden, and John Weever highlight the evolution of the concept of monumentality in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and provide a snapshot of the long-term effects of the Reformation and humanism on commemoration. Most importantly, they highlight the myriad ways of which early modern monumentality was conceived in early modern

[58] On these developments see especially Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture, 1500–1750* (Oxford, 2003).

England, opening a window onto a culture that was dynamic, flexible, and ever evolving in its meaning and media.

John Foxe and Actes and monuments (1563)

Actes and monuments was first published in 1563 and was printed in three subsequent editions in Foxe's lifetime: 1570, 1576, and 1583. Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs', as it came to be called colloquially, was a massive folio edition of 1800 pages in length, of even greater chronological and geographical scope than Foxe's previous martyrologies. It included many original documents, which is suggestive of John Bale's influence on Foxe; Foxe drew extensively from the work of other writers, scholars, antiquarians, and historians in his compiling of *Actes and monuments*, and John Bale had served as Foxe's mentor and friend for many years.[59] The Book of Martyrs covers the history of the Church from the early Church, papal history from the year 1000, and martyrdom between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The title of Foxe's publication and the way that he used the term 'monument' in his text suggests that he was very aware of two specific meanings of the word 'monument' – as a memorial or commemorative object and as a written record or document. It seems that Fox intentionally used both definitions of the term to emphasise the commemorative nature of his book.[60] As a 'martyrologie' Foxe's text was commemorative by definition.[61] Martyrology was closely related to the genre of hagiography and fulfilled many of the same functions; in fact, martyrdom was, for many saints, one of several criteria for their canonisation, particularly for the early Christian

[59] Thomas Freeman, 'Foxe, John (1516/17–1587), Martyrologist', *ODNB*, accessed 30 January 2019, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10050.

[60] John N. King has also noticed the multiple meanings of monument in Foxe's *Actes and monuments*, see John N. King, 'Fact and Fiction in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*', in *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, ed. David Loades (Aldershot, 1997), p. 21.

[61] Foxe refers to his book as such in the prefatory 'Utility of History' in the 1563 edition. John Foxe, *Actes and monuments*… (London, 1563), fol. B6r.

saints persecuted by the Roman emperors in the first 300 years of Christianity's existence. Hagiography, as discussed previously, was a genre that was an integral part of the diverse medieval commemorative culture that predated the Reformation. Both genres outline the lives and virtuous examples of the saint or martyr for didactic purposes. While the dates of the deaths of martyrs were not celebrated as saints' days, *Actes and monuments* included a calendar containing the name(s) of martyrs and the dates of their deaths, the inclusion of which was intended to encourage remembrance of their sacrifices for the faith. It also enforced the narrative that the current Elizabethan church was a direct descendent of the early Church. Foxe was explicit in drawing this connection in his dedication to Queen Elizabeth by comparing her to Constantine (and not-so-subtly comparing himself to the early Christian historian Eusebius, who also chronicled and calendared the lives of the martyrs), and by asking the queen to accept

> this my poore and simple endevoure, in setting forth this present history, touching the Actes and Monumentes of suche godly Martyrs as suffered before your reigne for the like testimonie of Christ and his truth. For if the[n] such care was in searching and setting forth the doynges and Actes of Christes faithfull servauntes, suffering for his name in the primative tyme of the Church: why should they now be more neglected of us in the latter churche, such as geve their bloud in the same cause and like quarrell? For what should we say? Is not the name of Christe as precious nowe, as then? Were not the tormentes as great? Is not the cause all one?[62]

Foxe's commemorative and didactic purpose is further reiterated. In his discussion of the utility of history, he wrote of the necessity of 'so great an history of so famous doinges, as this our age dayly hath ministred unto us, by the patient sufferinges of the worthy martyrs: I thought it not to be neglected, that the precious monumentes of so manye

[62] Foxe, *Actes and monuments*, fol. B2r.

matters, and men moste meete to be recorded and regestred in bookes, should lye buried by my fault in the pit of oblivion'.[63] He wrote that he wished men

> woulde carye about with them such monumentes of Martyrs as this, and lay them alwaies in sight, not alonely to reade, but to follow, and would paint them upon their walles, cuppes, ringes, and gates. For undoubtedly these martyrs are much more worthy of this honor, then 600 Alexanders… they ar most reputed in dede not that kil one inother with a weapon… but they which being constantly killed in Gods cause, doo retayne styll an invincible spirit and stomacke against the threates of Tirantes, and injuries of Tormentours. These undoubtedly are the true Conquerers of the world, at whose hand we learne true manhood, so many as fight under Christ, and not under the worlde.[64]

Actes and monuments then was Foxe's attempt at 'collecting and setting forth the actes, fame and memorie of these our Matryrs of this latter tyme of the churche'.[65] The stories of the martyrs reproduced in his book were intended to inspire the living with their example to continue to fight against superstition and idolatry, to celebrate the providential triumph of the Protestant Church over the Catholic Church, and to save the martyrs from oblivion.

The commemorative and material, and especially textual, nature of monuments was further emphasised by Foxe's use of the word 'monument' in his text. The following discussion will draw on samples of the use of the term 'monument' in the 1563 edition.[66] As Tom Betteridge has argued, Foxe's editions responded to the social,

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[63] Foxe, *Actes and monuments*, fol. B6r.
[64] Foxe, *Actes and monuments*, fol. B6r.
[65] Foxe, *Actes and monuments*, fol. B2v.
[66] Note that Foxe's use of the term 'monument' doubles from the 1563 edition to his subsequent editions, with the 1570 and 1583 editions using it the most, likely reflecting the expanding nature of the text as Foxe continued to add more information to it. According to 'The *Actes and Monuments* Online', the term appears on seven pages in the 1563 edition, sixteenth pages in the 1570 edition, thirteen pages in the 1576 edition, and sixteen pages in the 1583. Some pages do reference the term multiple times. See Mark Greengrass and David Loades, 'The *Actes and Monuments* Online', accessed 6 October 2107, www.johnfoxe.org.

religious, and political developments of their times, and each edition needs to be treated as a complete work in its own right, which is another reason why this discussion will focus on the 1563 edition as the first incarnation of the text at the start of the post-Reformation period.[67] However, the ways that he used the term remain similar across the editions.

The term 'monument' is used to describe documents on seven pages within the 1563 edition. In Foxe's discussion of Gregory the Great (540–604 CE) and the establishment of English episcopal sees, he cited a 'a certayn olde Greke Monument'.[68] 'An olde Monument of Houeden' was the source of Foxe's narrative of Joachim of Fiore, Abbot of Curacon (c.1135–1202 CE) a prophesier of the Antichrist.[69] Foxe and other Protestants were integral to shaping a narrative that adopted the Lollards, or followers of the teachings of the fourteenth-century theologian John Wycliffe, as proto-Protestant martyrs. In 1395 a group of Lollards posted the Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards to the doors of Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral and presented them to Parliament. Foxe attributed authorship of the Conclusions to John Oldcastle, a military commander and associate of King Henry V and a prominent Lollard, who after his arrest for heresy led an uprising against the king in the early fifteenth century, which has been described as a 'desperate attempt at revenge [rather] than a calculated plan to overthrow the existing order in church and state'.[70] Foxe reproduced this document in the *Actes and monuments* because it was 'worthy to be remembred, I have thought it good to place it in this place, but so that the booke shal use his own stile and phrase, that it may shewe and declare unto the Reder the Monument of his antiquitie'.[71] The biblical

[67] Tom Betteridge, 'From Prophetic to Apocalyptic: John Foxe and the Writing of History', *John Foxe and the Reformation*, edited by David Loades (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 212–213.
[68] Foxe, *Actes and monuments*, book 1, p. 18.
[69] Foxe, *Actes of Monuments*, book 2, p. 135.
[70] John A.F. Thomson, 'Oldcastle, John, Baron Cobham (d. 1417)', *ODNB*, accessed 6 October 2017, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20674.
[71] Foxe, *Actes and monuments*, book 2, p. 137.

translator William Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528), which challenged papal supremacy, was described as 'that most worthy Monument' by Foxe.[72] In the case of Tyndale and Oldcastle, the documents that they wrote or have been attributed to their authorship are monuments in the sense that they are documents, but Foxe also used the term to articulate that these documents are also monuments to their authors, suggested by the use of the term 'worthy' to describe Tyndale's publication and the justification of the inclusion of the Conclusions to demonstrate Oldcastle's fame to the reader – and the associated virtues that justify fame – and his 'antiquitie'.

Monuments were also physical monuments or objects that were not necessarily textual. In his discussion of the Edwardian injunctions, Foxe noted that they were based on Henry VIII's and reproduced a letter from the king to Bishop Bonner regarding idolatry and the abolition of images in the church. In this letter Henry wrote about 'Monumentes of feigned miracles', 'shrines, covering of shrines and monuments of those things' and 'Monuments of miracles or other pilgrimage' in the English church. He noted that some of them had been removed but that some remained, and ordered that others should be taken out 'as ther remain no memory of it'.[73] For Foxe, the multiple meanings of monument, as sites of commemoration and as documents, or as documents that were also commemorative, was not only reflected in the title of his book or its physical form, but also in its content as well. Foxe's efforts and motivations echoed Matthew Parker's in the creation and collection of his vast library, and the reproduction of original documents in print. Parker 'transformed an ordinary printed edition into

[72] Foxe, *Actes and monuments,* book 3, p. 520. Foxe also reproduced the works of William Tyndale, John Frith and Dr. Robert Barnes in a printed anthology. The dedicatory epistle to the work described these works as 'fruitfull workes and monumentes of auncient writers, and blessed Martyrs' (fol. A2r). John Foxe, *The whole workes of W. Tyndall, John Frith, and Doct. Barnes, three worthy martyrs, and principall teachers of this Churche of England collected and compiled in one tome togither, beyng before scattered, and now in print here exhibited to the Church. To the prayse of God, and profite of all good Christian readers* (London, 1573).

[73] Foxe, *Actes and monuments*, book 4, p. 684. The wording of this alleged letter to Bonner is very similar to the Edwardian injunctions of 1547. Frere and Kennedy, *Visitation Articles,* vol. 2, p. 126.

something like a renewal of the original source.[74] Similarly, Foxe's *Actes and monuments* was an 'encyclopaedia of literary genres in both prose and verse.'[75] The multiple meanings of monuments would carry on and diversify with later historians and antiquarians.

John Stow and The Survey of London (1598 & 1603)

John Stow (1524/5–1605) was a lifelong resident and citizen of the City of London. His *Survey of London* was first published in 1598, with another edition appearing in 1603 before Stow's death in 1605. The *Survey* was subsequently expanded upon by Anthony Munday in 1618, and again in 1633, and by John Strype in 1720.[76] Stow's *Survey* was, literally, a perambulatory topographical study of London inspired by William Lambard's *Perambulation of Kent* (1576) and John Norden's surveys of Middlesex and other counties.[77] It provides its readers with an extensive vision of the city's streets, churches, historical events, and of course, monuments.

Stow's dedicatory epistle to the Mayor of London outlines his motivations for undertaking his survey. Stow was compelled to write his survey because 'I have seene sundrie antiquities my selfe touching that place [i.e. London] as also for that through search of Recordes to other purposes, dyvers written helps are come to my hands, which few others have fortuned to meete withall, it is a service that most agreeth with my professed travelles'.[78] Stow had one of the most extensive interactions with the city

[74] Anthony Grafton, 'Matthew Parker: The Book as Archive,' *History of the Humanities* 2 (2107), p.34.
[75] King, 'Fiction or Fact,' p.15.
[76] David M. Bergeron, 'Munday, Anthony (bap. 1560–d.1633), Playwright and Translator', *ODNB,* accessed 28 July 2017. http://libsta28.lib.cam.ac.uk:2199/view/article/19531?docPos=1.
[77]Barrett L. Beer, 'Stow [Stowe], John (1524/5–1605), Historian', *ODNB*, accessed 31 January 2019 http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-26611.; John Stow, *A survay of London. Contayning the originall, antiquity, increase, moderne estate, and description of that citie, written in the yeare 1598. by Iohn Stow citizen of London. Also an apologie (or defence) against the opinion of some men, concerning that citie, the greatnesse thereof. With an appendix, containing in Latine, Libellum de situ & nobilitate Londini: written by William Fitzstephen, in the raigne of Henry the second* (London, 1598), fols. A2r–A2v.
[78] Stow, *Survay*, fols. A2v–A3r.

historically and geographically, making him best suited for the necessary task at hand. And it was necessary; Stow described his work as 'a duty, that I willingly ow to my native mother & Countrie And an office that of right I holde my selfe bound in love to bestow upon the politike body and members behold'.[79] It was an obligation for Stow as a citizen of the city to provide a survey for the 'common good' of the city's people.

Stow used the term 'monument' to describe several different things he saw around the city. First and foremost, Stow used it to describe the effigies, tombs, gravestones, glass windows (especially those with heraldic displays), and monumental brasses that adorned London's parish churches within and without the city walls, as well as St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey. In as many churches as possible, Stow noted the monuments of 'noble men' buried there, namely monuments of monarchs, aristocrats, courtiers, gentlemen, notable clergymen or monks in former monastic churches, the mayors, aldermen and sheriffs of the City of London, and prominent guildsmen. The 1603 edition of the *Survey* also includes some epitaphs of notable persons, such as that of one John Shirley, Esquire and his wife Margaret in St. Bartholomew's Hospital in Faringdon Ward without:

> Beholde how ended is our poore pilgrimage,
> Of John Shirley Esquier, with Margaret his wife,
> That 12 children had together in marriage,
> Eight sonnes and foure daughters withouten strife
> That in honor, nurture, and labour flowed in the fame,
> His pen reporteth his liues occupation,
> Since Pier his life time, John Shirley by name,
> Of his degree, that was in Brutes Albion,
> That in the yeare of grace deceased from then,
> Foureteene hundred winter, and sixe and fiftie,
> In the year of his age, fourescore and ten,
> Of October moneth, the day one and twenty. [80]

[79] Stow, *Survay,* fol. A3r.
[80] Stow, *Survay* (1603), p. 377.

In the 1598 and 1603 editions, Stow described the monument of John Shirley and his wife Margaret. He noted that they had 'their pictures of Brasse, in the habite of Pilgrimes, on a fayre flat stone with an Epitaph'.[81] By 1603 however, Stow was no longer simply listing the names of those buried in London's churches with occasional indications of where in the church they were buried, or descriptions of their fair monuments. He increasingly recorded epitaphs into his book. Perhaps surprisingly given Stow's vehement disapproval of the defacement of monuments and his clear approval of monuments and their commemorative functions, Stow did not record every monument he encountered. In his discussion of the parish church of St. Gregory in Castle Baynard ward Stow wrote, 'Monuments of note I knowe none there'.[82] Stow used a selective process to create his text. This selection was most likely rooted in Stow's contempt for those who had defaced monuments; as John Manningham noted in his diary after meeting with Stow, 'He [Stow] gave me this good reason why in his Survey he omittes manie newe monuments: because those men have bin the defacers of the monuments of others, and soe thinks them worthy to be deprived of that memory whereof they have injuriously robbed others'.[83]

In her study of the afterlives of Stow's *Survey* in the editions prepared by Anthony Munday (1618) and John Strype (1720), Julia Merritt demonstrated that Munday substantially expanded Stow's survey to incorporate Protestant, or godly, material in the form of funeral monuments, records of charity undertaken by Protestant elites in the city, and greater biographical detail of prominent godly Londoners. Stow was brief in his discussion of William Lambe, the prominent London gentleman and philanthropist, and confined his discussion of Lambe to his purchase of a former hermitage of St. James in-the-Wall from Edward VI, and the gifting of this property to

[81] Stow, *Survay* (1598), p. 306.
[82] Stow, *Survay* (1598), p. 302.
[83] Manningham, John, 'Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple, and of Bradbourne, Kent, Barrister-at-Law, 1602–1603', ed. John Bruce, *Camden Society*, o.s., 99 (1868), p. 103.

the Clothworkers' guild to pay for a minister after his death in 1580. By contrast, Munday preserved Stow's discussion of Lambe in the perambulatory section of the *Survey*, but included over three pages of Lambe's various philanthropic endeavours in the first section of the text concerning the 'Honor of Citizens and worthinesse of men'.[84] Merritt asserted that 'it may be going too far to suggest that Stow *systematically* suppressed important pro-Protestant material'.[85] However, the general consensus regarding Stow's 'conversion by conformity' and religious conservatism – Stow infamously had several run-ins with the authorities regarding questionably Catholic reading material – is that it resulted in a 'nostalgic antiquarianism' which looked to the pre-Reformation past as a romanticised era of charity, hospitality, and community-orientated commonweal, and was at odds with the ostentatious individualism and perceived lack of charity of the present.[86] Stow's *Survey* was not necessarily intended as a defence of traditional religion *per se*, but much of Stow's concern regarding the defacement of monuments, injury to the dead, and his perceived decline in the city's charity was likely religiously motivated in part. Stow's religious identity cannot be separated from the interpretive lenses through which he viewed the city.

Stow's work was thus paradoxically coping with, and condemning, a sense of rupture with the past caused by religious change, whilst establishing some selective senses of historical continuity through the mention of the new stately homes built in the

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[84] J.F. Merritt, 'The Reshaping of Stow's "Survey": Munday, Strype, and the Protestant City', in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598–1720*, ed. Julia F. Merritt (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 52–73; Stow, *Survey* (1598), p. 254; Stow, *Survey* (1603), p. 318; Anthony Munday, ed. *The survay of London…continued, corrected and much enlarged, with many rare and worthy notes, both of venerable antiquity, and later memorie; such, as were never published before this present yeere 1618* (London, 1618), pp. 177–180; 587–88.
[85] Merritt, 'The Reshaping of Stow's "Survey"', p. 58.
[86] See Ian Archer, 'The Nostalgia of John Stow', in *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London, 1576–1649*, eds. David L. Smith, Richard Strier, and David Bevington (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 17–34; Patrick Collinson, 'John Stow and Nostalgic Antiquarianism', in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598–1720*, ed. Julia Merritt (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 27–51. For a recent critique of nostalgic antiquarianism in Stow, see Andrew Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text and Community* (Basingstoke, 2013), ch. 3.

fashionable West End along the Strand toward Westminster, or through the very act of attempting to preserve the past through his numerous descriptions of funerary monuments and the dissolved monasteries.[87] Stow's relationship with the past was complicated. The aforesaid quote from Manningham's diary and other evidence suggests is that Stow's concern regarding religious change did not appear to be doctrinally motivated but rather took great umbrage with the rupture with the past in general, and socially and culturally in particular, that the Reformation wrought.

This analysis answers Andrew Gordon's call for 'a reading of the *Survey* that demonstrates Stow's concern with the instrumental uses of the past, foregrounding in particular his close engagement with the highly topical politics of local and collective memory' as a qualification of the nostalgia thesis proposed by Ian Archer and Patrick Collinson.[88] Stow was not simply looking backward with a sense of rupture and loss, but rather he was 'more directly connected with the politics of the past as an urgent contemporary issue', and the *Survey* is 'a work attempting to re-inscribe by textual means the resources of memory as a central component of urban community'.[89] The purpose of Stow's *Survey* was to preserve funeral monuments of the past selectively to create a monument to continuity in textual form in a time of great change. Textual monuments could allow their compilers to anchor memory in tumultuous times with greater immediacy than physical forms.

When Stow discussed the defacing of monuments and the motivations behind it, he generally described this as something motivated by greed and financial gain.[90] For

[87] On the tensions between continuity and coping with change in Stow's *Survey,* see Lawrence Manley, 'Of Sites and Rites', in *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London, 1576–1649*, ed. David L. Smith, Richard Strier, and David Bevington (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 35–54.
[88] Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London*, p. 114.
[89] Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London,* pp. 114, 118.
[90] A keyword search of C.L. Kingsford's edition of the 1603 version of the Survey reveals that Stow did not use the term 'puritan' even once within his text, which was an intuitive pejorative to use to describe the defacers of monuments and was a term in early modern parlance since the 1560s. See John Stow,

example, when Stow discussed the building of the house of Edward VI's Lord Treasurer and the first Marquis of Winchester, William Paulet, and further construction undertaken by his son on the former site of the Augustine friary, he noted that 'his [Paulet] sonne and heyre Marques of Winchester sold the Monuments of noble men there buried in great number, the paving stone, and whatsoever (which cost many thousands) for one hundred pound, and in place thereof made fayre stabling for horses'.[91] At St. Botolph Billingsgate, he wrote that some 'monuments are al destroyed by bad and greedy men of spoyle'.[92] Stow also noted when he thought defacement led to injury of the dead. For example, at St. Mary Aldermary Stow recorded that 'Sir William Laxton Grocer, Maior, deceased 1556. and Thomas Lodge Grocer, Maior, 1563. were buried in the Vault of Henrie Keble, whose bones were unkindly cast out, and his monument pulled downe, in place where of monuments are set up of the later buried, William Blunt L. Mountjoy, buried there, 1594. etc'.[93] Stow conveniently forgot to mention that the removal of older monuments to make way for new ones was in fact a commonplace practice for hundreds of years in late medieval England. These acts of oblivion were not explicitly religiously motivated – Stow did not refer to these defacements as acts of religious fervour or iconoclasm – but rather as a result of the lack of respect for the dead and ancient sacred spaces as a result of religious change and the rupture with the past it created.

The destruction of monuments as an act that obliterated memory and thus ruptured continuity with the past was the problem Stow highlighted most explicitly when it came to monuments.[94] This is best illustrated by some of the monuments that

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Survey of London, Reprinted from the Text of 1603, ed. C L Kingsford (Oxford,1908), *BHO*, accessed February 19 2019, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/survey-of-london-stow/1603.

[91] Stow, *Survay* (1603), p. 178.

[92] Stow, *Survay* (1603), p. 209.

[93] Stow, *Survay* (1603), p. 255.

[94] This is further supported by the fact that Protestants, from the famous antiquaries like William Camden, to humbler historically minded individuals like the churchwarden Thomas Bentley also condemned the destruction of monuments. See 'Ian Archer, 'The Nostalgia of John Stow', p. 33; Simone Hanebaum,

Stow preserved; Stow had no qualms about mentioning the monuments of people who had met their ends in dishonourable means. For example, in his survey of the Augustinian Friars church in Breadstreet in Broadstreet ward, he noted the monuments of five men who had been executed by beheading, including three for the crime of treason: Richard Fitzalan III, fourth Earl of Arundel and ninth Earl of Surrey (d.1397); John de Vere, twelfth Earl of Oxford (d.1462); and Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham (d. 1521).[95] Clearly treason was not as injurious as the attack on memory according to Stow's sensibilities.

Stow did not just describe funerary memorials as monuments: monuments could also be architectural, spatial, objects, and the act of remembrance itself. In his perambulation of Limestreet ward, Stow wrote:

> Monuments or places notable in this ward be these: In Limestreete are diuerse fayre houses for marchants and others: there was sometime a mansion house of the kings, called the kings Artirce whereof I find record in the 14. of Edward the first, but now growne out of knowledge. I reade also of another great house in the west side of Limestreete, having a Chappell on the south, and a Garden on the west, then belonging to the Lord Nevill, which garden is now called the Greene yard of the Leaden hall. This house in the ninth of Richard the second, pertained to sir Simon Burley and sir John Burley his brother, and of late the said house was taken downe, and the forefront thereof new builded of timber by Hugh Offley, Alderman.[96]

A house may not seem to be commemorative at first glance, but as Tara Hamling illustrated in her study of domestic spaces, the domestic sphere, and especially its decoration, could be a hotspot of commemorative action particularly in connection with

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'Sovereigns and Superstitions: Identity and Memory in Thomas Bentley's "Monumentes of Antiquities"', *Cultural and Social History* 13 (2016), pp. 287–305.

[95] Stow, *Survay* (1603), pp. 179–180. Of the three, only Arundel is identified as having been beheaded in the 1598 edition and Buckingham was not included until the 1603 edition. See Stow, *Survey* (1598), pp. 139–140.

[96] Stow, *Survay* (1603), pp. 152–153.

important events such as inheritance, marriage, and the birth of heirs, especially as the family seat.[97] The house's function as the family seat, as a place of ownership and power of the wealthy and notable, and as a likely site of heraldic decoration internally and externally, and the symbolic meaning of scale, likely motivated Stow to record houses as monuments; these buildings held the memories and symbols of the individuals that owned them. Other spaces could be monuments. The survey of Aldgate ward includes 'monuments, or places most ancient and notable', a description Stow used to describe the dissolved Priory of the Holy Trinity, called Christ Church.[98] By referring to the monastic sites as monuments, he assigns the former sites a commemorative purpose, as spaces that preserved the memory of monasticism.[99]

Objects were also monuments. Stow describes Roman artefacts dug up in Spittlefield as 'Olde monumentes of the Romaines found'.[100] The cross in Cheap ward was referred to as 'that monument, an ancient ensigne of Christianitie' in a greatly expanded survey of Cheap ward in the 1603 edition.[101] Stow also referred to monstrous or unusual objects of curiosity such as 'the tooth of some monstrous fish' and 'a shanke bone of 25 inches long, of a man as is said, but might be of an Oliphant' indirectly as monuments.[102] The Roman artefacts were monuments in the sense that they were token memorials of a particular time in history. The cross in Cheap was originally constructed as a memorial to Eleanor of Castile, as one of the twelve Eleanor crosses that marked the

[97] See Tara Hamling, '"An Arelome To This Hous For Ever": Monumental Fixtures and Furnishings in the English Domestic Interior, c.1560–c.1660', in *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post-Reformation*, eds. Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (Farnham, 2013), pp. 59–84.
[98] Stow, *Survay* (1598), p. 104.
[99] On monastic ruins as sites of the memory of rupture and loss see Margaret Aston, 'English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtault Institutes* 36 (1973), pp. 231–255; Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011).
[100] Stow, *Survay* (1598), pp. 130–132.
[101] Stow, *Survay* (1603), p. 269.
[102] Stow, *Survay* (1598), p. 219–220.

procession of her body after her death from Lincoln to Westminster Abbey in 1290. It was also a symbol, in Stow's eyes, that represented the whole of Christendom and its beliefs, and thus its several defacements over the course of the late sixteenth-century and delayed repairs earned a great deal of Stow's criticisms.[103] The alleged fish tooth and giant's leg bone were monumental due to their extraordinary size and appearance, and thus memorable. These objects represented what Stow referred to as 'Monuments of antiquitie'.[104] This definition of monuments aligns with the definitions discussed at the beginning of this dissertation. The extraordinary, meaningful, and memorable were considered to be monuments and these objects were deemed memorable precisely because they were unusual in size, age, meaning, or occurrence.

Finally, acts of remembrance and their associated spaces were monuments too. In other words 'to monument' was a monument in and of itself. Stow's *Survey* is full of actions of remembrance, from the establishment or building of the churches that housed monuments to the building of chantries and the bequest of obits. Regarding the parish church of St. Michael Queenshithe, Stow noted that 'Stephen Spilman, Gentleman, of that Family in Norfolke, sometime Mercer, Chamberlaine of London, then one of the Shiriffes and Alderman, in the year 1404 deceasing without issue, gave his landes to his Family the Spilmans, and his goodes to the making or repayring of bridges and other like godly uses: and amongst others in this church he founded a chauntrie, and was buried in the Quire'.[105] He followed this entry with a note that 'Also Richard Marlowe, Ironmonger, Mayor 1409. gave twenty pound to the poore of that Warde, and ten markes to the church'.[106] These actions of charity were memorialised not only because Stow bemoaned a perceived lack of charity in the post-Reformation age, but also because

[103] Stow, *Survay* (1603), pp. 268–270.
[104] Stow, *Survay* (1598), p. 346
[105] Stow, *Survay* (1603), p. 358.
[106] Stow, *Survay* (1603), p. 358.

bequests were meant 'to monument' their givers.[107] These gifts of charity obliged their recipients to reciprocate charity with remembrance in the form of prayers for the souls of benefactors. The same can be said of the foundation of chantries by men like Stephen Spilman; their purpose was fundamentally to provide the dead with prayers for their souls. Stow mentioned these actions alongside the recording of physical funerary monuments because these acts and tombs fulfilled the same purpose before the Reformation, one of remembrance to protect the souls of the dead through prayer, and because they were both monuments. One was simply an action and the other was an object. Actions as well as objects, spaces and places could all be monuments in the worldview of John Stow.

William Camden and his Remaines (1605)

Another late Elizabethan and early Stuart commentator on monuments was the herald and historian William Camden (1551–1623). By the turn of the seventeenth century, Camden was Clarenceux King of Arms, and his *Britannia* was published in its fifth edition. In 1603 plague broke out in London and Camden spent time with his friend and fellow antiquary Sir Robert Cotton at Cotton's home in Connington, Huntingdonshire. A result of this scholarly exodus from the metropolis was the 1605 publication of *Remaines of a greater worke*, a collection that covers some of the history of Great Britain, as well as the ancestral origins of the people living in Great Britain, its languages, names, poems, notable speeches, and epitaphs.[108] Camden himself described the work as 'the rude rubble and out-cast rubbish…of a greater and more serious

[107] Ian Archer has largely put to rest the debate regarding whether or not charity had declined and has argued that while traditional forms of charity and hospitality declined new forms of philanthropy such as poor relief, penny loaves, and church refurbishment emerged. Archer also argued that one of the primary impetuses for commemoration was to inspire more charity. See Archer, 'The Arts and Acts of Memorialization in Early Modern London', in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Protrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598–1720*, ed. Julia F. Merritt (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 89–113; and Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge, 1991).
[108] Wyman H. Herendeen, 'Camden, William (1551–1623), *ODNB*, accessed 2 August 2017, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4431.

worke'.[109] However, Wyman H. Herendeen, Camden's biographer for the *ODNB*, described the *Remaines* as 'a collection [that] reflects the unusual moment in the emergence of early modern Britain when the artefacts of the vernacular culture were coming to be valued in new ways…[the *Remaines*] can be seen as a popular spin-off from its more expensive and serious historical mother lode, the *Britannia*'.[110]

Camden's work on monuments in this text was primarily focused on epitaphs found on tombs or written for commemorative purposes. This is part of an increasing early modern interest in recording epitaphs, seen by their increasing addition to later editions of Stow's *Survey* and the wealth of epitaphs later recorded in John Weever's *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (1631). As Peter Sherlock noted, 'words were intended to be the dominant element of early modern monuments, explaining their content and identifying their messages both precisely and playfully. Images were less stable elements of tombs and allowed visitors to add their own layers of memory'.[111] He also noted that 'The importance of words is reflected in seventeenth-century antiquarian discussions of tombs, in which epitaphs overshadowed all other considerations'.[112] Antiquarians were primarily interested in preserving the textual elements of monuments; if the visual elements had been of greater importance, more engravings or verbal descriptions of monuments would have been included in the texts. Instead, Stow and Camden are relatively mum on the physical description of monuments save for noting, whether a monument had been defaced or was 'fayre' looking, as was the case for the former. According to Sherlock, the reason for the increasing primacy of words was this:

> Writers on the theory of monumental commemoration together with observers of its practice gave primacy to words over images, while heraldry occupied a middle ground between the two. In an era wedded to the printed word and the scriptural

[109] William Camden, *Remaines of a greater worke, concerning Britaine, the inhabitants thereof, their languages, names, surnames, empreses, wise speeches, poësies, and epitaphes* (London, 1605), fol. A3v.
[110] Herendeen, 'Camden'.
[111] Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, ch. 7.
[112] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, ch. 7.

> word, words offered control over the justification and interpretation of tombs. Words could be attached to existing tombs, and epitaphs could be circulated in print, perpetuating the memory of the dead. Words in early modern England created pictorial metaphors to great effect, with longer-lasting results than those achieved by existing local image-makers in the same period.[113]

Therefore, while Camden's section on epitaphs may use the term 'monument' more sparingly, his views on their purpose and how he used the term are still illustrated in his discussion of epitaphs because they were the primary component of funerary monuments.

Camden viewed epitaphs as the 'most respective, [sic, i.e. proper] for in them love was shewed to the deceased, memory was continued to posterity, friends were comforted, and the reader put to mind of humane fraielty'.[114] Discussing 'those which philosophically dislike monuments and memorials after their death and those that affect them' Camden cited Pliny's letters regarding Virginius and Apronius as precedents for his view on whether one should have monuments or not have monuments after one's death. In his letter to Russo regarding Virginius, Pliny defended Virginius' desire to have an epitaph inscribed upon his tomb against Russo's assertion that Frontinus 'showed a better and nobler spirit in forbidding any monument at all to be set up to himself'.[115] Pliny noted that Frontinus refused a monument because he believed the cost of building it would be superfluous, for his fame would live on without the need of a monument in the memory of men. Pliny astutely drew attention to the false modesty of Frontinus' statement, and wrote 'neither should be blamed, for both hoped for fame though they sought it by different roads, one claiming the epitaph which was his due, the

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[113] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory,* ch. 7.
[114] Camden, *Remaines*, p. 28. The *OED* defines 'respective' in this context as something that is appropriate or proper. See *OED Online,* s.v. 'respective, adj', accessed 1 November 2017, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/163793?rskey=2V2nTn&result=1&isAdvanced=false
[115] Pliny, Book 9, Letter 19, in *Pliny: Letters and Panegyricus*, trans. Betty Radice, vol. 2*, Letters, Books VIII-X and Panegyricus*, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA, 1975), pp. 115–119.

other by professing to despise it.'[116] Camden saw memory as an iteration of fame, and history as a textual manifestation of fame. These were no less monuments than funerary monuments and epitaphs. The abstract thus became an object of commemoration in Camden's reasoning.

For Camden the greatest justification for the use of monuments was the ubiquity of funeral monuments and epitaphs in antiquity's commemorative culture, and their presence in biblical Scripture as well.[117] The apologetic nature of this section of the *Remaines* suggests that Camden was responding to contemporary criticisms of monuments. He qualified the ubiquity of monuments with the assertion that 'monuments answerable to mens worthy, states, and places, have alwaies bene allowed, yet stately sepulchers for base fellowes have alwayes lyen open to bitter jests'.[118] The propriety of a monument was entirely dependent on the worthiness of the individual commemorated by the monument; those who were unworthy were subject to ridicule, graffiti, and vandalism, or in the case of Stow, complete oblivion. Not everyone was entitled to commemoration; it was a fragile honour that had to be earned just as much in the early modern period as in antiquity.

Camden's motivation for collecting 'choise Epitaphes of our nation', was 'for matter and conceit…that you may see how learning ebbed and flowed, most of them recovered from the injury of time by writers'.[119] Epitaphs were meant for study and observation, not only of someone's memory but also to observe the excellent learning that was evident in a well-written epitaph. Following the idea of the Middle Ages as a 'dark age' established by Petrarch, Camden argued that learning in England had declined significantly around the time of King Alfred (848/9–899), citing the 'rude, rough and

[116] Pliny, Book 9, Letter 19.
[117] Camden notes that St. Paul referred to the place of burial as *seminatio*, 'in the respect of the assured hope of resurrection'. See Camden, *Remaines*, pp. 28–29.
[118] Camden, *Remaines*, pp. 29–30.
[119] Camden, *Remaines*, p. 31.

unlearned verse' of John Erigena alias Scotus' epitaph as evidence. Such a state of ignorance was in Britain that 'betweene Thames & Trent, there was scant one person who could understand Latin'.[120] This would not be rectified until after the Conquest when learning 'revived'.[121] The well-written epitaph thus demonstrated the worthiness of the composer and their learning as much as that of the subject of commemoration. Monuments had multiple purposes for their audience, their subject, and their composers. Fame, recorded in history, was a memorial. As a textual element of monuments, epitaphs held primacy over all other parts of a monument in constructing the site of memory. They also became increasingly important to preserve in times of iconoclasm real or perceived, particularly among antiquarians of conformist or conservative religious leanings such as John Stow, William Camden, and John Weever.

John Weever and Ancient Funeral Monuments (1631)

The poet and antiquary John Weever (1575/6–1632) had much to say about monuments in the massive *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, published in 1631. In his general discourse on monuments Weever defined 'monument' thus:

> A Monument is a thing erected, made, *or written, for a memoriall of some remarkable action, fit to bee transferred to future posterities*. And thus generally taken, all religious Foundations, all sumptuous and magnificent Structures, Cities, Townes, Towers, Castles, Pillars, Pyramides, Crosses, Obeliskes, Amphitheaters, Statues, and the like, as well as Tombes and Sepulchres are called Monuments. Now above all remembrances (by which men have endevoured, even in despight of death to give unto their Fames eternitie) *for worthinesse and continuance, bookes, or writings, have ever had the preheminence*.[122]

[120] Camden, *Remaines*, p. 34.
[121] Camden, *Remaines*, pp. 33–34.
[122] John Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments within the united monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the islands adjacent... composed by the studie and travels of John Weever* (London, 1631), p. 1. Italics are my emphasis.

Weever's definition of monuments in general, then, encompassed many of the types of monuments identified by Stow and Camden, and crucially for this study, included writing in various forms, from epitaphs to history. Weever supported his definition, and in particular the assertion that writing was the most durable form of commemoration and remembrance, by citing classical examples, including the Roman epigrammatist Martial, the poet Ovid, and St. Jerome.[123] These sources from antiquity and the early Church stressed that written monuments were necessary to preserve the memory and fame of the dead because physical monuments were subject to change and the possible destruction that could accompany those transformations over time. For example, Ovid concluded *Metamorphoses* with this 'envoi':

> And now my work is done, which neither the wrath of Jove, nor fire, nor sword, nor the gnawing tooth of time shall ever be able to undo. When it will, let that day come which has no power save over this mortal frame, and end the span of my uncertain years. Still in my better part I shall be borne immortal far beyond the lofty stars and I shall have an undying name. Wherever Rome's power extends over the conquered world, I shall have mention on men's lips, and, if the prophecies of bards have any truth, through all the ages I shall live in fame.[124]

According to Ovid, even the gods could not erase his poetic works. This emphasised the magnitude of his fame, and his book became a timeless and immortal monument to his own memory. Weever's reference to St. Jerome came from letter 77 of his epistles in which St. Jerome posthumously extolled the virtues of St. Fabiola, a Gentile woman in Rome who converted to Christianity and lived a life of asceticism and charity in the fourth century CE. St. Jerome concluded his letter by stating that he gave Fabiola, 'the

[123] Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments*, pp. 1–5.
[124] Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* book 15:871–879, in *Metamorphoses,* trans. Frank Justus Miller, vol. 2, *Books IX–XV*, The Loeb Classical Library (London, 1929), pp. 427.

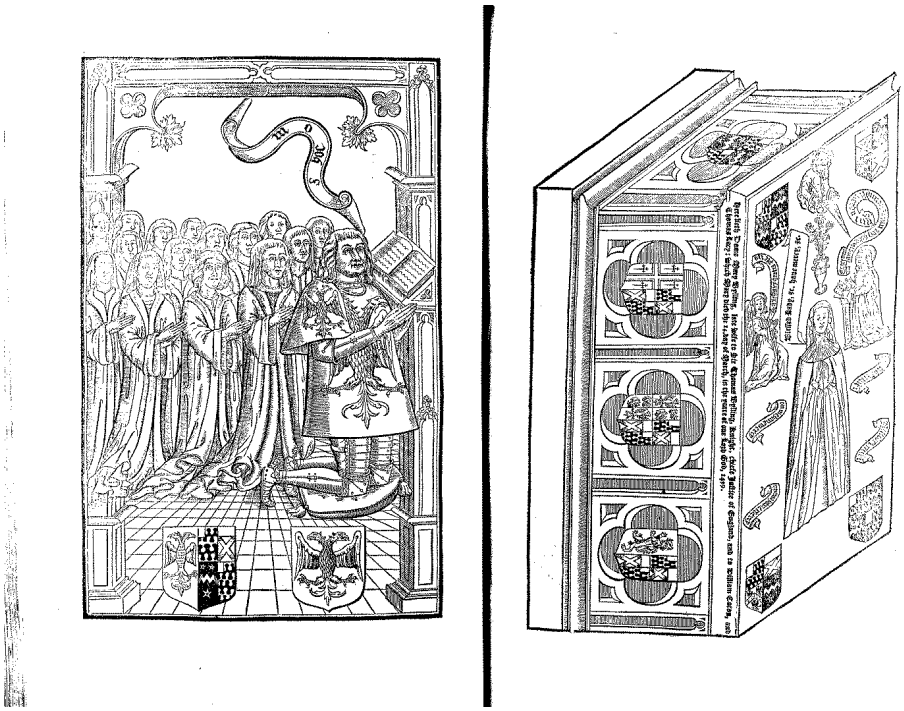
best gift of my aged powers, to be as it were a funeral offering'.[125] St. Jerome was a writer and theological intellectual, and this letter, a text, became an epitaph or elegy dedicated to the memory of St. Fabiola. Thus, Weever asserted that 'bookes then and the Muses works are of all monuments the most permanent; for of all things else there is a vicissitude, a change both of cities and nations'.[126]

Implicit in Weever's use of classical examples to assert the durability of textual monuments over physical ones was his motivation for writing his book and for recording monuments in the first place. His aim was to 'revive the dead memory'[127] of worthy men whose memory had been forgotten through the destruction of monuments, from the Dissolution of the Monasteries to the misguided and overzealous commissioners responsible for stripping away idolatry and superstition in England during the Reformation, and the 'broode of Scismatickes' that emerged in the reign of Elizabeth and continued to destroy monuments despite royal proclamations against such actions in 1560 and 1571/2.[128] Weever devoted five of his eighteen chapters to discussing the history of monuments in Britain and attitudes toward them from antiquity to the Elizabethan period. Weever was concerned not only with writing an apology for funerary monuments in the context of a century of iconoclasm in Britain, but also with preserving existing monuments through the transcription of funerary epitaphs accompanied with biographical information regarding whom the epitaphs commemorated where possible. He also preserved some monuments through the inclusion of engravings of stained-glass windows, monumental brasses and even tombs. For example, his book included the following engravings of the monuments of Lady

[125] St. Jerome, *Epistles*, letter 77, in W.H. Fremantle, G. Lewis and W.G. Martley (trans.*), Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series, 6 (1893), accessed 8 August 2017, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3001077.htm.
[126] Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments*, p. 3.
[127] Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments,* title page.
[128] Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments*, pp. 51–56.

Mary Billing and her second husband Sir Thomas Billing, Chief Justice in the reign of Edward IV (1461–1470; 1471–1483), and that of her first husband, William Cotton, located in St. Margaret's Church in Westminster.

Figure 1: Monument of William Cotton (L) and Monument of Lady Mary Billing and Sir Thomas Billing[129]



Unlike Stow or Camden, Weever included visual reproductions of the monuments he viewed. Epitaphs were the most common monument represented in Weever's book, but the inclusion of engravings was a marked departure from the precedent set by other early modern antiquaries, and a general decline in pictorial representations in early modern printed books.[130] Weever's text is clear that it is

[129] John Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments within the vnited monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the islands adiacent with the dissolued monasteries therein contained*… (London, 1631), RB 79634, The Huntinton Library, San Marino, California, pp.494–495. Reproduced with permission of the Huntington Library. Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Image produced by ProQuest as a part of *Early English Books Online*. www.proquest.com.

[130] Andrew Pettegree has argued that Foxe's *Actes and monuments* was an exceptional publication for its use of woodcuts. By the 1560s continental Protestants had shied away from the use of images, despite a

primarily focused on the preservation of funeral monuments; after his general discussion of what monuments were in chapter one, Weever wrote that he would 'now to speake properly of a Monument, as it is here in this ensuing Treatise understood, it is a receptacle or sepulchre, purposely made, erected, or built to receive a dead corps, and to preserve the same from violation' in chapter two.[131] However, the fact that Weever argued for the durability of writing over physical monuments, and that he himself chose to revive the memory of the monasteries and those commemorated by funeral monuments across the country in a written *book*, suggests that the best early modern monument was that which was written upon the page.

Conclusion

A monument was architectural and three-dimensional in the form of the funeral monument, sepulchre, tomb or brass, but it was also profoundly textual, both in the medieval and early modern periods, and the precedent for textual monumentality can be traced to antiquity and the Scriptures. Medieval monuments both physical, ritual, and textual were profoundly sacred. Chantries, obits, and masses were performed by the clergy and monasteries and churches held funerary monuments and textual forms of commemoration such as the *libri memoriales.* The rise of Renaissance humanist thought and literacy and the ambiguous and sometimes ambivalent relationship with monumentality created by the Reformation led to shifts in commemorative culture. The category of commemorators increasingly included lay men, in addition to the clergy. The purpose and content of monuments both physical and textual shifted away from intercession to the celebration of fame, classical ideals such as civic engagement, and

strong illustrating tradition among the first generation of reformers. See Andrew Pettegree, 'Illustrating the Book: A Protestant dilemma', in *John Foxe and his World,* eds. Christopher Highley and John N. King (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 133–144. This shift is part of James Knapp's 'from visual to verbal' thesis in his examination of sixteenth-century histories and their use of images. See James Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2005).

[131] Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments*, p. 5.

cardinal Christian virtues to edify the living by example. The Reformation removed an entire commemorative sphere created within monasteries and convents, and the stripping of the altars often led to iconoclastic destruction in which funeral monuments and other forms of commemoration became unintended casualties. The rupture with the past and concern regarding its oblivion through iconoclasm and the destruction of texts led men from Matthew Parker in the 1560s, John Stow in the 1590s, to John Weever in the 1630s to write and record monuments in textual form.

The impulse to remember and to honour the dead remained but the context in which commemoration could take place had shifted significantly with the Church's adoption of Calvinist theology and its distinctive ambivalence toward images and monuments. However, as time wore on, people developed a more confident relationship with commemoration through the increased building of funerary monuments, the preaching of funeral sermons, and the publication of commemorative print. Renaissance aesthetics reached their zenith in the early seventeenth century, which gave Protestants an aesthetic to which they could reassign Protestant meanings and tropes such as providence without necessarily portraying the divine or allowing them to reimagine the divine allegorically rather than literally.

Fox, Stow, Camden, and Weever demonstrated the sheer breadth of the definitions of what a monument was in post-Reformation England. Monuments were documents, places, spaces, objects of antiquity, epitaphs, books, funeral monuments, and the act of memorialising itself. Textual monuments encompassed a variety of textual forms, documents, and records. This speaks to the defining characteristic of early modern monumentality: its dynamism and experimentalism. Writers drew on the ever-expanding textual forms available to them from legal culture, parish administration, sermons, literature, mnemonic practices such as commonplacing, and art. The books these men wrote could be monuments to their compilers. They also could be monuments

to a triumphant Protestant church, to a lost merry England, to the dominance of the metropolis, to the remains of the British past, and to the preservation of the dead and their tombs. Written monuments were perceived to have greater durability than physical monuments. As Weever wrote, 'bookes then and the Muses works are of all monuments the most permanent'.[132]

An early modern textual monument could be nearly any textual form that preserved the memory of someone, or something, for posterity. Implicit, and sometimes explicit, to memorial texts both medieval and early modern was the *intent* to commemorate and to remember. In the cases of Foxe, Stow, Camden, and Weever this intent was communicated explicitly in the titles and contents of their texts. This intent to commemorate was not limited to the printed work of antiquaries. It was seen in the commonplace books, diaries, notebooks, and bibles of lay men. These types of documents, as well as the burgeoning English print culture, provided new and evolving opportunities for commemoration in the aftermath and ambiguities wrought by religious change.

[132] Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments,* p. 133

Chapter 2: Reformation, Religion and Monumentality

The Reformation reshaped the form, function, and meaning of commemorative culture in early modern England. The excision of the doctrine of purgatory from the English Church lay very much at the heart of this cultural change. Traditional belief dictated that the dead needed intercessory prayer from the living to shorten their time in purgatory where they suffered to atone for their outstanding sins before joining God and the saints in heaven. By the reign of Edward VI, the practice of reading the bede-roll, the provision of chantry masses, the lighting of candles for the dead, and the building of funeral monuments requesting intercession on behalf of the deceased had ended through a series of legislative and ecclesiastical acts and injunctions and gradual evangelisation. By the reign of Elizabeth, the Calvinist doctrine of predestination became a central theological tenet of the post-Reformation English Church which dominated until the 1630s. In the vacuum left by the death of purgatory, new commemorative forms and functions developed.

The primary purpose of memory was no longer intercession but rather the preservation of the fame of the deceased or the demonstration of their exemplarity for the edification of the living according to revived classical, civil virtues or cardinal Christian piety. Memory was didactic before the Reformation, but its instructive function gained greater importance after the decline of purgatory. The meaning and function of memory had changed but some mnemonic practices marked a continuation with the traditional past. A lull in the building of funeral monuments occurred in the mid Tudor period and continued into the reign of Elizabeth. But by the 1580s, the rate of building of funerary monuments recovered and increased, particularly during the reign

of James I and reached its pre-civil war zenith in the 1630s.[1] The reading of a funeral sermon became a popular form of remembrance of the dead and expounded Reformed theology and belief. The printing of sermons to disseminate the example of the dead more widely gained momentum from the 1590s onwards. In the century between the reigns of Henry VIII and Charles I, the nature of commemoration and the meaning of the memory of the dead had undergone a series of evolutions.

The role of religious change in the shaping of commemorative culture and its materiality has been explored by numerous historians, art historians, and literary scholars. Margaret Aston examined the post-Reformation understanding of the memory and commemorative potential of monastic ruins.[2] Nigel Llewellyn and Peter Sherlock traced the evolution of the funeral monument from the late medieval period to the beginning of the civil wars, and argued that the Reformation changed the use of funeral monuments from a site of intercession to a site of commemoration and exemplarity.[3] The Reformation's impact on print, particularly in regard to printed images,[4] and the rise of the printed funeral sermon have challenged us to interrogate our assumptions about Protestant iconophobia and preaching, and have demonstrated the complexities of the

[1] Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 10.
[2] Margaret Aston has written extensively on the nature of iconoclasm. See Margaret Aston, 'Art and Idolatry: Reformed Funeral Monuments?', in *Art Re-formed: Reassessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, eds. Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle, 2007), p. 243–266; Margaret Aston, *Englands Iconoclasts,*vol. 1, *Laws against images* (Oxford, 1988); and Margaret Aston, 'English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973), pp. 231–255.
[3] Both Llewellyn and Sherlock have published extensively on monuments. For their most exhaustive studies see Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge, 2001); and Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2008).
[4] See for example, Alexandra Walsham's discussion of broadsides and providence. Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), ch. 5; Margaret Aston, 'Symbols of conversion: Proprieties on the Page in Reformation England', in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Michael Hunter (Farnham, 2010), pp. 23–42; and Hannah Yip, '"The Text and the Occasion Mingled Together Make a Chequer-work, a Mixture of Black and White, Mourning and Joy": Visual Elements of the Printed Funeral Sermon in Early Modern England', in 'What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England', eds. Antonina Bevan Zlater and Olga Timofeeva, *SPELL: Swiss Papers in English Language and Literatur*e 34 (2017), pp. 157–182.

relationship between the press and religion.[5] The commemorative function of literary sources such as poetry and drama has been of increasing interest to literary scholars.[6] There is a greater appreciation among scholars of the commemorative potential of other forms of material culture, including domestic interior decoration, tableware, and even tobacco boxes.[7] The current mnemonic 'moment' in Reformation studies will only deepen the appreciation of the cultural change this event has wrought.[8] This chapter seeks to deepen our appreciation of the relationship between memory and religious change by examining documents traditionally underappreciated as sites of

[5] The authoritative comprehensive study of Tudor and Stuart sermon is Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge, 2010). See also Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough, eds., *The English sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History, 1600–1750* (Manchester, 2000); Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2011).

[6] Traditional forms of literary commemoration such as the elegy have been subject to extensive study, see for example Karen Weisman, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the Elegy* (Oxford, 2010); and Andrea Brady, *English Funerary Elegy in the Seventeenth Century: Laws of Mourning* (Basingstoke, 2006). Notable studies on the relationship between memory and literature include Brian Chalk, *Monuments and Literary Posterity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge, 2015); Andrew Hiscock, *Reading Memory in Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge, 2011); Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist, eds., *The Arts of Remembrance: Memorial Cultures of the Post-Reformation* (Farnham, 2013); Andrew Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text, Community* (Basingstoke, 2013); and Thomas Rist', Monuments and Religion: George Herbert's Poetic Materials', in *The Arts of Remembrance: Memorial Cultures of the Post-Reformation*, ed. Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (Farnham, 2013), pp. 105–124.

[7] A selection of various commemorative materials relating to the Reformation can be seen in the 'Remembering the Reformation' online exhibition hosted by the University of Cambridge. 'Monuments and Memorials', *Remembering the Reformation*, Cambridge University Library, accessed 12 April 2018, https://exhibitions.lib.cam.ac.uk/reformation/case/monuments-and-memorials/. Tara Hamling is a leading expert on domestic material culture, and of note for the purposes of this chapter is Tara Hamling, '"An Arelome To This Hous For Ever": Monumental Fixtures and Furnishings in the English Domestic Interior, c.1560–c.1660', in *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post-Reformation*, eds. Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist. (Farnham, 2013), pp. 59–84.

[8] One scholar of memory has challenged the extent to which the Reformation was seismic rupture in European memory. For this corrective perspective see the conclusion to Judith Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Oxford, 2017).

commemoration both in manuscript, such as domestic compilations, and biblical paratexts, and in print, especially in regard to commemorative broadsides.

This chapter will explore how the Reformation caused evolutions in textual monumentality and shaped how early modern Protestants used and perceived textual space as a site of commemoration. As we have seen in the previous chapters, textual commemoration was a part of traditional religion in England. Monastic orders kept their *Libri memoriales,* priests maintained obit rolls for the parish dead, and families recorded family births, marriages, and deaths in their Books of Hours, the devotional texts which were among the most ubiquitous books of the late medieval period, especially after the development of printing in Europe.[9] Textual commemoration by both Protestants and Catholics continued after the Reformation, but textual commemoration was particularly well suited to Protestant interests. This chapter suggests that religious change did not necessarily create new meanings or forms of commemoration *per se*, but that it did shift the meaning of commemoration away from intercession toward moral edification and salvation. The content and form of textual monuments adapted to the new theological emphasis on predestination and providence in particular, which mirrored developments in the content and forms of physical funeral monuments observed by Peter Sherlock.[10]

First, this chapter will examine how these theological developments shaped commemorative efforts in domestic manuscript monuments such as notebooks, family diaries, and commonplace books. This analysis will demonstrate that Protestant theological tenets such as assurance and predestination established the 'identity scripts'[11] which dictated Protestant self-fashioning, and 'monumenting' both of themselves and their pre-Reformation ancestors. One further consequence of this theological shift and

[9] On the uses of Books of Hours see Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240–1570* (New Haven, 2006).
[10] Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), ch. 4, VitalSource e-book.
[11] See Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, ch. 1.

the emphasis on the authority of the Scriptures was the rebirth of biblical, particularly Old Testament, conceptions of the purpose of monuments: post-Reformation Protestant textual monuments commemorated God's glory and providence, creating monuments to God alongside monuments to the deceased. This was part of a wider Protestant interest in recording providence, but the mnemonic implications of this recording have been underappreciated by historians of Protestant life-writing.

Similar commemorative interests can be seen in other forms of textual monuments. The Protestant emphasis on the importance of the Scriptures and use of vernacular bibles, and the increased accessibility of these vernacular bibles enabled by the printing press shifted family textual commemoration away from other devotional texts such as the Books of Hours to the Bible. These commemorative biblical paratexts sit at the nexus between print and manuscript culture. Protestant emphasis on the didactic exemplarity of the dead enabled and furthered the monumentality of the printed funeral sermon and the creation of commemorative broadsides, the expansion of which occurred in parallel with the increase in funeral monument building observed in the early seventeenth century. These printed monuments drew on the existing vocabulary and form of physical monuments to create monuments on the page, blurring the lines between textual and physical space. The liminality between the physical and the textual is suggestive of several developments. There was a growing confidence in the acceptability of monumenting after the Reformation across the spectrum of Protestant belief. A symbiotic cultural and stylistic relationship flourished between text and architecture. More tentatively, the conceptualisation of the textual as an abstract space freed commemoration from the corruptive and idolatrous potential of ecclesiastical

space, and was thus particularly well suited to the commemorative efforts of 'hotter' Protestants.

Fundamental to this chapter is the suggestion that texts were a particularly useful space of/for Protestant commemoration in the post-Reformation period. While the physical space of the church was no longer intrinsically a sacred space in the eyes of many Protestants, memories and fears of pre-Reformation 'idolatry' within the church meant that one legacy of the Reformation was ambivalence regarding commemoration in churches and the meaning of ecclesiastical space.[12] Could commemoration take place in a church with confident adherence to reformed belief? Or was it a gateway to 'popery' and 'superstition'? The fact that Elizabeth's royal proclamation against the defacement of monuments in 1560 explicitly prohibited the destruction of monuments in 'Churches or publique places' suggests that concerns regarding the relationships between space, its uses, and notions of sanctity persisted. Textual space could be public or private depending on a variety of factors, including use and intended audience. With the exception of funeral sermons, personal post-Reformation textual monuments did not require clerical involvement in their creation unlike traditional forms of commemoration such as obit rolls or the *Libri memoriales.* This created the potential for monuments separated from the spiritual and commemorative mediation of the priesthood, diffusing the responsibility for commemoration into the hands of the laity, especially patriarchs. The portability of monuments created in smaller remembrance books or account books allowed the monument of a deceased parent, spouse or child to be taken and meditated upon anywhere. Personal reflection fulfilled the Protestant understanding of the function

[12] The exception is the development of Laudian thought, which re-emphasised the 'beauty of holiness' and sacred space in the 1630s. See Peter Lake, 'The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of Holiness in the 1630s', in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603–1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Basingstoke, 1993), pp. 164–174, quoted in Andrew Spicer, '"What Kind of House a Kirk Is": Conventicles, Consecrations and the Concept of Sacred Space in Post-Reformation Scotland," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge, 2005), p. 83.

of monuments as didactic sources for spiritual cultivation. The greater affordability of paper over brasses, portraits, and effigies in churches also opened up commemorative practices to a larger group of society that was increasingly literate, due in part to the Protestant emphasis on reading the Word of God. Printed textual monuments of clergy and notable persons also allowed for the propagation of Protestant religious ideals in print to evangelise as much of the population as possible to further the nation's faith. Text was well-suited to the task of commemoration in a 'bookish' religious culture[13] that emphasised the didactic utility of personal meditation and contemplation to foster one's relationship with God, image-free to avoid idolatry.

Domestic Manuscripts and Protestant Monumentality

Notebooks, diaries, commonplace books, account books, domestic miscellanies, and a vast array of other domestic manuscripts were commonly kept in families and often inherited from generation to generation. As such, these types of documents offered compilers directly accessible, useful spaces to commemorate themselves and their families. These texts were sites at which religious change generated new content for commemoration and created interpretive frameworks that imbued monuments with meaning. The Reformation led to a reinterpretation of the lives of ancestors, emphasis on good, godly deaths, and a focus on Protestant piety evident in the preoccupation with evidence of salvation and assurance created by predestinarian doctrine.

The commemoration of pre-Reformation ancestors potentially created problems for their Protestant descendants. Piety was often an integral virtue exemplified in commemoration but that piety had to be the correct (Protestant) kind to fulfil the edificatory purpose of a monument after the Reformation. So how did early modern 'monumentors' deal with the 'popery' and 'superstition' of their ancestors? The family 'memoirs' of Robert Furse (c.1535–1593), a late-Tudor Devonshire gentleman, offer one

[13] Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain,* (Oxford, 2013), p .270.

possible strategy. Robert Furse of Moreshead made proper spirituality a central part of his advice to his son in his manuscript. Furse described the lives and characters of the Furse family ancestors to 'lette ther honeste good and godly acts and lives be a scholemaster to you and to yours for ever'.[14] Throughout the text Furse described his ancestors and their lives, including their hobbies, marriages, and children. He also recorded the religious acts of relatives stretching back a century. Considering that 'beware of false docteren [and] be constant yn religion' was advice Furse gave to his son, discussing the religiosity of relatives from the pre-Reformation past could be problematic.[15] On the one hand, they could provide moral guidance; on the other, their belief in 'superstition' and 'idolatry' could potentially lure one to false belief. Furse negotiated this by emphasising faith over doctrine and shared belief over potential dispute in his text, thus creating a narrative of the continuity of charity and godliness despite the Reformation. For example, Furse described his great-great-grandfather's bequest of money for an anniversary mass and the poor as 'som good dedes of charity' and mentioned that when the mass was abolished, the money went solely to the poor.[16]

His grandfather John Furse (c.1481–1549) was a more controversial character. Furse noted that at his grandfather's death in Moortown he 'hadde ther a Chapell and hade a pryste mentayned yn his howse a longe tyme' and gave alms in food and drink to the poor.[17] Furse's grandfather also faced legal repercussions regarding his alleged participation in the Prayer Book Rebellion, an uprising in the southwest of England against the introduction of the Edwardian Book of Common Prayer of 1549, although there were socio-economic causes of the conflict as well. Robert Furse wrote that his grandfather was 'gretelye spoyled…for he was then geven bodye and goods like a rebell yet durynge all the time of that Rebellyon he was contynuallye in his bedde sycke and

[14] DHC 2507, fol. D.
[15] DHC 2507, fol. E.
[16] DHC 2507, fol. 2.
[17] DHC 2507, fol. 23.

note abell to travel'.[18] This 'trobell' cost Robert's grandfather £70 but his third wife Margaret successfully pleaded on her husband's behalf for his loyalty at Exeter Castle and some charges were remitted. Earlier in the text Robert Furse accused the 'noftye [sic naughty] pryste' in service to a nearby neighbour, with whom the Furses had been involved in property disputes, of falsely accusing his grandfather of high treason.[19]

Furse's grandfather's innocence cannot be confirmed beyond reasonable doubt. Furse noted that his grandfather was in service as either a steward or attorney to the religiously conservative Henry Courtenay, Earl of Devon and Marquis of Exeter, who was executed for high treason in 1538 for allegedly favouring Mary as Henry VIII's successor. John Furse's relationship with Courtenay was sufficiently close that his grandson noted that John was 'never jocante nor merye in harte' after his execution.[20] John Furse also had occupational dealings with Sir Thomas Denys, who was one of many former friends and affiliates of Courtenay who were involved prominently in the Prayer Book Rebellion; Denys was openly opposed to the rebellion but he was sympathetic to the rebels' cause. Given John Furse's affiliations, his keeping of a priest in his house and holding a family chapel, it seems very likely that John Furse was religiously conservative and he could have been involved in the rebellion for religious reasons. There is no evidence to suggest that the Furses were not at the very least a conformist family by the 1590s. Furse gave his heirs the very Protestant advice to 'geve yourselves to the redynge and herynge of the holy scryptures and shuche leke good

[18] DHC 2507, fol. 22.
[19] DHC 2507, fol. 22.
[20] DHC 2507, fol. 22.

docterene'.[21] Furse had to include other information such as the naughty priest and his grandfather's alleged illness to dispel any notions of disloyalty to the Crown.

Similarly, Furse described the pious acts of his ancestors discreetly; he emphasised aspects of their piety that would be acceptable to Protestants and Catholics alike. For example, Furse referred to the priest kept by John Furse as a 'chapelen' in the margins and he emphasised the charitable nature of his great-great grandfather's bequests.[22] Thus, Furse created a narrative that created continuity with the traditional religion of the past. And when that narrative ruptured, Furse found ways to explain away a past that would not sit well with a Protestant reader.

Another strategy for dealing with this problem was to omit the religion of one's ancestors in commemorating them altogether, as seen in Sir John Oglander's writings. John Oglander (1585–1655) was a gentleman from the Isle of Wight. He wrote about the lives and characters of family and friends in his commonplace book kept between 1622 and 1652. He wrote about his grandfather George Oglander, who lived from 1490–1565. There is no evidence in the text of George Oglander's religion, but his birth year suggests that Oglander must have spent the first forty years of his life as a Catholic. Writing about his grandfather, Oglander noted that he was born in Nunwell on the Isle of Wight, attended the Inns of Chancery, and was admitted to the Inner Temple where he was called to the bar. He noted his grandfather's service to his community as a justice of the peace and recorded that as a lawyer, he 'never took any fee but employed his skill and labour in making peace and unity amongst his countrymen'.[23] He also noted that he 'was a great enemy to idleness and to good clothes, hating all superfluity or needless dressing or apparel, as lace or guards of velvet which were then much in request'.[24] He

[21] DHC D2507, fol. G.
[22] DHC D2507, fol. 23.
[23] John Oglander, *A Royalist's Notebook: The Commonplace Book of Sir John Oglander, Kt., of Nunwell, born 1585, died 1655*, ed. Francis Bamford (London, 1936), p. 169.
[24] Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, p. 169.

recorded his grandfather's marriages and his very close relationship with his mother Ann. In these descriptions, Oglander employed a similar strategy to Furse in highlighting those characteristics which were respected by all Christians regardless of confession such as service, honest dealing, living purposefully without 'idleness' and the eschewing of vanities such as fashion. But the references to piety end there; Oglander spent an equal amount of space further discussing his grandfather's excellent horse and hawk.[25] In contrast, Oglander's account of a neighbour's death at Christmas 1631 commemorated his neighbour in distinctly Protestant terms. He noted that 'old Thomas Urry of Gatcombe died, one that lived long till 84 years of age and saw many good days. All this being done and his race happily run in the fear of Christ and in assurance of His merits (as myself was an eye-witness some 8 days before he died), he departed on this day'.[26] His silence regarding his grandfather reflects one strategy for commemorating one's Catholic or conservative ancestors: avoiding the problem of commemorating piety all together.[27]

Protestantism also left its mark on the commemoration of pre-Reformation ancestors. Regarding his fifteenth-century ancestors John Furse and his wife Johan (i.e. Joanne or Joan), Robert Furse wrote that he hoped that God would 'send them a joyefull daye in the Resurrection'.[28] The emphasis on salvation and of election in physical monuments is the most explicitly Protestant post-Reformation development in the commemoration of the dead. Peter Sherlock demonstrated that the hope for resurrection defined early English post-Reformation funeral monuments. He also argued that a confidence in the election and eventual resurrection of the deceased developed by the

[25] Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, p. 170.
[26] Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, p. 72.
[27] The omission and reinterpretation of the religion of the dead in the post-Reformation world is also reflected in physical funerary monuments. See Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, ch. 4.
[28] DHC D2507, fol. 2.

end of the sixteenth century.[29] In his discussion of the 'estate of the dead' in Reformation England, Peter Marshall showed that while theologians debated the numbers of those who would be saved, commemorative culture including funeral sermons, elegies, and condolence letters were 'often markedly optimistic in tone, and display a desire (with varying degrees of ease and unease) to accommodate the ineluctable doctrine of election to a deep-seated social impulse to think well of the dead'.[30] Physical monuments in particular were more likely to state 'without reservation or qualification that the soul of the deceased had gone to heaven'.[31] Commemorative media at least suggested the view that salvation would be granted to many. Evidence of salvation included a good death, the display of virtues or providential benevolence associated with membership among the elect, and expressions of assurance by the deceased themselves. The 'forensic picking over of virtues' was often integral to making the case for the election of the deceased.[32]

The following analysis shows that this development was not limited to physical monuments but extended to Protestant textual monuments and life-writing more generally as well. Protestants were expected to seek out and find evidence of God's hand in their lives which is why evidence of election was so important to Protestants, especially when the doctrine of predestination meant that only a select few souls would be saved. The first kind of source that comes to mind here is the puritan spiritual diary, but it appears in sundry other forms of early modern writing. Nor was it solely the

[29] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, ch. 4.
[30] Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002), p. 197.
[31] Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, p. 200.
[32] Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead,* p. 198. On the Protestant 'good death' see Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, pp.460–468; Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480–1750* (Oxford, 1998); and Lucinda McCray Beier, 'The Good Death in Seventeenth-Century England', in *Death, Ritual and Bereavement*, ed. Ralph Houlbrooke (London, 1989), pp. 43–61.

purview of the hottest of Protestants; it permeated how lives were recorded and memorialised across the spectrum of Protestant belief and in a variety of textual forms.

In his domestic wrtings, John Oglander recorded the death of his son George while he was on his tour of France in 1632 after falling ill. On his deathbed George 'had confessed his sins by casting forth many holy ejaculations and by true repentance'.[33] 'His prayers being ended and his peace made with God', George repeatedly commended his spirit to Christ and died.[34] George Oglander fulfilled the archetypical criteria for a good death expected of Protestants through repentance, prayer, and surrender. Evidence of George's good death was also cultivated by anti-Catholicism. John Oglander emphasised Protestant rites and practices in his account of his son's death in Caen, a French city with a Catholic majority. John Oglander recorded that his son beseeched his cousin to tell his parents that he died '*in the true religion* they brought me up in'.[35] This proclamation of faith was reiterated again in front of fellow Protestants who gathered around his deathbed: Oglander wrote that his son 'there made before them an acknowledgement of his faith and how he died in the Protestant religion'.[36] Furthermore, Oglander's son directed his cousin to pay small bequests to his servants and to 'give £10 to the poor Protestants of Caen…'[37] The proclamation of his death in the 'true religion' and his gift of money to poor Protestants is highly suggestive of the passive anti-Catholicism that defined national English Protestantism. Dying in a Catholic country, Oglander's son George was compelled to proclaim his confessional allegiance and Protestantism's superiority. While gifts of charity to the poor were not unusual, the specification of gifts to the Protestant poor was an expression of confessional allegiance in the face of Catholicism. Protestants' faith made them more deserving of alms, and

[33] Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, pp. 179–180.
[34] Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, pp. 179–180.
[35] Oglander, *Royalist Notebook*, pp. 179–180. Italics are my emphasis.
[36] Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, p. 180.
[37] Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, p. 179–180.

their presence as an oppressed minority compelled their co-religionist to ensure he did his part to take care of members of his wider religious community in the face of popish oppression. The implication in recording this information is that George was godly because he died a good death, declared his Protestant faith, and dutifully fulfilled his confessional obligation to his fellow Protestants. Oglander finished his memorial to his son with the hope that 'through the merits of Christ, we shall be so happy as to enjoy him shortly in a better world, where Death shall have no more power over us, to which world the Lord brings us for His mercy's sake'.[38] Oglander explicitly hoped that his son was among the elect, and that the rest of the family would receive God's grace as well.

This expression of hope of joining an elect relative in heaven was a common theme in textual monuments.[39] The Norfolk gentleman Richard Wilton (1561–1637) noted his son Robert's death from a fever in 1624 in his remembrance book. Wilton's son uttered 'oute of his fittes comfortable & hopefull speches of the assurance of his salvacion by Christ & ofte repeted a short prayer of his owne compilinge' and this good death was evidence of his son's 'trewe concionable [sic] and diligent Care' and other virtues.[40] This gave Wilton 'grete hope of joye & comfort of him for his well doing & preferment in this life yet far greter joye It assurd myselfe of his far better preferment to celestiall & hevenly joyes in the glorious Kingdom of heaven…'.[41] Wilton had full belief in his son's election. This confidence in the election of the dead is also reflected in Wilton's record of his wife's death in 1611. He took note of his wife's pious expression of assurance on her deathbed, noting that she said 'If any one syn had bene lefte unsatisffied by Christ in Godes elect then coulde not Christ have risen from death'.[42]

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[38] Oglander, *Royalist's Notebook*, p. 181.
[39] The following paragraph draws on materials previously explored in previously published work. See Simone Hanebaum, 'Historical Writing? – Richard Wilton's "Booke of Particular Remembrances", 1584–1637', *The Seventeenth Century* (2018), DOI: 10.1080/0268117X.2018.1485594.
[40] CUL Buxton Papers 96/15, p. 128.
[41] CUL Buxton Papers 96/15, p. 128.
[42] CUL Buxton Papers 96/15, flyleaf 2v.

This utterance, coupled with his account of her virtues, was evidence of her 'worthiness or rather godes graces in her';[43] his wife's virtues were an outward expression of her receipt of God's grace, and thus of predestined election. It was a risk of false security to state knowledge of one's election, and it was assumed no person would know of their own election until their deathbed, but expressions of assurance and evidence of election played an important role in the emphasis on the good death in some Protestant textual monuments. It motivated the inclusion of descriptive deathbed scenes like that of Robert Wilton and hopeful prayer of joining one's family in heaven in commemorative texts; after recording the births of his sons, Wilton wrote that he hoped they would 'together be inheritors of his hevenly Kingdom.[44] Writing of his wife's death after childbirth in June 1611, Thomas Godfrey (1585–1655), a gentlemen from Kent, noted that his 'most loveinge Wife Margaret Lambard Departed this life in a most comfortable manner, her last words being these (viz) my Soul is in Heaven with the Angells'.[45] Here, Godfrey noted that his wife expressed her assurance in her salvation before her death.

As Ralph Houlbrooke has illustrated, preparation for death was an important facet of early modern society, particularly in the context of higher mortality rates and the unpredictability of the outbreak of disease and dearth.[46] People were expected to prepare for death by reading spiritual advice literature, by living lives that followed God's commandments, by meditating on one's death, and by acknowledging the fleeting nature of life on earth and the greater importance of the afterlife. Death could only be faced by those 'armed with a sure faith and a clear conscience'.[47] But in addition to meditation on death, preparation for death required people to settle their worldly affairs, repent of their sins, 'faithfully discharge the duties of [their] calling', end one's desires for earthly

[43] CUL Buxton Papers 96/15, flyleaf 2v.
[44] CUL Buxton Papers 96/15, p. 188.
[45] BL Lansdowne MS 235, fol. 3r.
[46] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family*, p. 74.
[47] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family*, pp. 59–62.

things, including 'the affections and lusts of the flesh', undertake acts of charity, and practice devotional prayer and resign oneself to the will of God.[48] Crucial for the following discussion is the discharge of duties and settling worldly affairs. Commemorative texts allowed their writers to commemorate themselves as well as perform their duties, particularly as patriarchs at the heads of households and as fathers. Commemoration presented exemplary lives for edification, particularly for children, but many commemorative texts also contained advice for heirs and descendants.

Returning to Robert Furse's 'family memoir', Furse started his manuscript with a prefatory address to Furse's 'Sequelle'. In it he gave his heir, his nine-year-old son, advice on how to live his life. He advised his son to respect his elders and betters, to be truthful and honest, to avoid sin, to give alms, to pay his servants fairly, to beware of false doctrine, and to be constant in religion, among pages of other advice regarding how to select a wife, and how to dress, act, and use one's free time in a productive and godly manner.[49] Sir John Oglander recorded similar information in his journals. Oglander recorded advice to his grandchildren and their descendants and noted that they 'doth expect that some of thy predecessor [sic] should give thee some rules out of his long experience whereby, in Divinity, Morality and Good Husbandry, thou mayest better thy soul, body and estate'.[50] Oglander provided advice regarding child-rearing, how to select a wife, how to live one's life, what professions one should have, as well as advice on general husbandry. He did so to 'endeavour to help thee in thy progress both to Heaven and on Earth that thou mayest not be altogether unsatisfied in thy desires. Rather shalt

[48] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family*, p. 65.
[49] DHC D2507, fols. Cv–Kv.
[50] Oglander, *A Royalist's Notebook*, p. 245

thou blame my judgment in mis-spending my time than my will in giving thee the best satisfaction I can'.[51]

The gentleman John Ramsey (1578–c.1633) also provided advice to his heirs in his miscellany.[52] His 'Aurea Instructiones', written in 1607, instructed his heir in how to dress, write, speak, sleep, gesticulate, and exercise.[53] It instructed his son to marry a 'Religious, Noble Virgin of an untaynted famelye', to 'be especiallye carefull' in the 'vertuous education' of children, and to 'make choice of wise & learned frendes', including 'one sole entyre frende…to whome thou mayest participate thy most secret projects in prosperity and adversity'.[54] He instructed his son to 'make Temperance Queene of all the vertues', and 'above all feare God, & walke in his statuts: For this mortall life is not given thee to delight in vaine pleasures: But that thou might'st have some space of Tyme, wherein thou mayest use all good meanes to attayne to life everlasting'.[55] By providing advice to their descendants, men like Oglander, Furse, and Ramsey discharged their earthly affairs and duties. This not only commemorated them but allowed them to prepare for their own good deaths in the process.

Good deaths were only one aspect of evidence of election. Providence, particularly the benevolent kind, also permeated Protestant life-writing and textual monuments and often served as evidence of election. Not all Protestants articulated assurance, that is the secure confidence that they would be saved, in their writings. However, providence often explained and gave meaning to the events of people's lives

[51] Oglander, *A Royalist's Notebook*, p. 245.
[52] On Ramsey and his miscellany, see Edward Doughtie, 'John Ramsey's Manuscript as a Personal and Family Miscellany', in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985–1991*, ed. W. Speed Hill (Binghampton, NY, 1993), pp. 281–288; and Angus Vine, *Miscellaneous Order: Manuscript Culture and the Early Modern Organization of Knowledge* (Oxford, 2019), ch. 2.
[53] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fol. 93v.
[54] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fols. 92r–92v.
[55] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fols. 92v, 92r.

and the world around them, allowing them to make sense of it. Amongst particularly fervent believers, providential incidents could be used to take inventory of one's personal relationship with God. As Alec Ryrie has suggested, Protestant autobiography allowed for the examination of 'signs of progress in grace' and it 'could be used to pick out the events in your life which you believed were the turning points, so interpreting God's providential action in your personal history'.[56] Fundamentally, Protestants were looking 'back to look forward', or as Catherine Berkus has argued, for preparation for death.[57] As John Ramsey's advice to his son suggests, life itself was an opportunity to use 'all good meanes' to attain grace in the eyes of some.[58]

Providence appears in Ramsey's 'autobiographical' account in his notebook, kept in the early seventeenth century. On the death of Ramsey's father, it was God who allowed him to depart 'so gratiously'.[59] When Ramsey pursued the study of the law at the Middle Temple in pursuit of service to the commonwealth, he credited God with bestowing him with the advantage it yielded him in his public life, writing 'my gracious God be praised'.[60] His safe return to England after travels to the continent and pilgrimage to the Holy Land, his marriage to a 'most happye hopefull spouse', and the birth of his first born child were also providential blessings bestowed on him by God.[61] Interestingly, Ramsey attributed malevolence and misfortune not to God's providential hand, but rather to more earthly actors. When he was deprived of inheriting the family's

[56] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 312.
[57] Catherine Berkus, 'Writing as a Protestant Practice: Devotional Diaries in Early New England', in *Practicing Protestants: Histories of Christian Life in America*, ed. Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp, Leigh E. Schmidt and Mark Valeri (Baltimore, 2006) p. 25.
[58] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fol. 92r.
[59] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fol. 6v.
[60] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fol. 7r.
[61] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fols. 7v–8r.

manorial seat, Ramsey blamed the 'villainous & wicked enterprises attempted by some of mine owne house'.[62]

We see a similar occurrence in the diary of the Wilbraham family kept by successive patriarchs from the 1550s to 1962. John Wilbraham (d.1612), writing in the sixteenth century, wrote of a fire which consumed much of the eastern part of the town of Nantwich in December 1583, which began 'by Goddes sufferance'.[63] The church, threatened by fire, 'god dyd preserve itt whose name be praysed to whome I pray to Gyve us his grace of repentaunce etc. to be warned by this his gentyll admonycion etc. soe to Amende our lyves from the heist [sic highest] to the lowest'.[64] His grandson Thomas Wilbraham thanked God for His providential protection when He ensured Thomas's safe travels whilst travelling the continent in 1614 and 1618.[65]

Thomas Reynell's account of his father's death in 1648 in the family diary attributed his father's good death to providence. He wrote 'it pleased God to call out of this passing world…my loving and deare father Sir Richard Reynell on the 12th day of February 1648'.[66] Thomas attributed his father's virtues to God as well. He described his father as 'a man whom God had called in this world to a more than usuall burthen of care and industry for to uphold his house and reputation, because of which he laboured with much diligence of mind'.[67] Richard's peaceful 'stupefaction of the spirits' in the immediate hours before his death was also dictated by God.[68] Reflecting on the 'proceedings' of his life in the 1630s, the bookbinder John Norgate noted 'that it pleased

[62] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fol. 6v.
[63] CRO DDX/210/1, fol. 4r.
[64] CRO DDX/210/1, fols. 4v–5r.
[65] CRO DDX/210/1, fols. 13v, 15v.
[66] DHC 4652M/F/5/1. p. 21.
[67] DHC 4652M/F/5/1, p. 21.
[68] DHC 4652M/F/5/1, p. 21.

God soe to blesse and prosper his poore indeauers' to learn bookbinding in his mid-thirties.[69]

Protestants did not have a monopoly on providence; Catholics too recorded examples of providential involvement in their lives.[70] In addition, not every Protestant was interested in recording good deaths, providence or salvation. For example, Lancelot Ridley recorded family births and deaths in his notebook, kept between 1574 and 1602, in a manner more reminiscent of parish registers, listing names, dates, and times only.[71] Peter Leycester of Tabley, Cheshire's 'Chronicle of the Leicester Family from Henry III to 1647' is a fair-copy and sumptuously illustrated commemorative book, but it is simply genealogical, recording coats of arms and progeny, with no mention of religion at all.[72] Even a man with puritan sympathies like William Whiteway, who we might expect to be more keenly interested in providence and marks of election, refrained from discussing any of these things in the 'private chronology' written in his notebook, where he recorded the births and deaths of family and friends and other events from 1518 to 1634. However providence does appear in his 'diary', where Whiteway attributed the 'Fatal Vespers' of the floor collapse during a Catholic meeting in Blackfriars to God's divine will.[73] Pollmann and Greenblatt's emphasis on agency in the process of self-

[69] NRO MC175 /1/1–4, fol. 4v.
[70] Alexandra Walsham has demonstrated both Catholics and Protestants used providential language and events. This was especially useful to establish their respective superiority and by extension orthodoxy over their opponents, see Walsham, *Providence*, ch. 5.
[71] BL Add MS 44062, fols. 18r–20v.
[72] CRO DLT/B20.
[73] CUL MS Dd.xi.73, fols. 43v–47r; BL MS Egerton 784, fol. 35r.

fashioning must be remembered when we consider what identity scripts are used and to what extent.[74]

But the theological significance of providence, particularly as evidence of membership among the elect, made examples of benevolent providential involvement in Protestants' lives very important to record in monuments for many. Markers of Protestant piety such as election and providential favour were commemorated for moral edification. This was a central part of post-Reformation monumentality in textual form and in sculpture. These domestic manuscripts commemorated the salvation and presence of providence in the lives of their compilers and their families. Consequently, these documents not only commemorated individuals for their Protestant piety; they also operated as a monument to God Himself, His divine authority, and providence implicitly.[75] Alec Ryrie has identified God as a potential 'audience' or reader of Protestant life-writing.[76] When we consider these texts commemoratively, however, records of providence take on a Biblical understanding of the function of monuments as sites that memorialise God and His glory. We recall from the previous chapter that the Old Testament abounds with references to memorials to God's glory and divine will. When God spoke to Moses, His word and His favour for the Israelites were a 'memoriall' to Him in perpetuity.[77] Similarly, providential events such as Joshua's defeat of Amalek were also memorials to God. Providential commemoration could take on more explicitly monumental forms as well. The prophet Samuel erected the Ebenezer

[74] Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, ch. 1; Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980).
[75] The relationship between commemoration, providence and social memory are outside the purview of this dissertation but it should be noted that monuments to providence were widespread in English textual culture, especially in print, in the form of thanksgiving sermons, almsgiving and other ceremonies and rites surrounding important 'providential' events such as the Spanish Armada, or the Gunpowder Plot. See David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989) and Walsham, *Providence*.
[76] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, pp. 310–315.
[77] See chapter one above. See also the Book of Exodus, especially chapters 3, 12,13,17,28, and 29 for references to providence and memorials to God, both physical and textual.

Stone to commemorate God's providential support of the Israelites' victory against the Philistines.[78] Thus, the commemoration of providence, manifested as either providential events or predestined salvation, implicitly, and as we shall see later explicitly, was a way to commemorate God. This was a profound swerve in English commemorative culture away from the soul of the individual departed to God himself. While the debate regarding the acceptance of forms of commemoration continued, the reorientation of commemoration to God potentially circumvented concerns regarding worship of the dead.

England's conversion to Protestantism not only resulted in changes in what early modern people remembered about the dead, and its meanings, but it appears to have also marked a change in *who* was remembered as well. The emergence of the printing press and the use of the press in circulating Protestant thought and belief, also stimulated the emergence of new or adapted forms of commemoration which emerged in manuscript in the form of paratexts in family bibles, and at the press in the form of printed sermons and commemorative print culture.

Memorials in the Margins: Family Bibles and Manuscript Monuments

The discussion thus far has focused on the domestic manuscripts and papers kept as notebooks, books of remembrances, and family diaries. Another manuscript space for commemoration could be found in the margins and end-leaves of bibles. The practice of using the marginal and blank spaces in books to record family biographical information dated to the late medieval period where family information was recorded in Books of Hours, the popular collection of medieval Latin prayers and psalms for private devotion. Books of Hours permeated all parts of English society at the start of the sixteenth century. These devotional texts ranged in appearance from the sumptuous illuminated and personalised manuscripts of the elites to the printed texts purchased by people as far

[78] 1 Samuel 7:12.

down the social scale as servants. These texts could be displayed in public, passed down from generation to generation, and were sites of memory. Some Protestant families even continued to use their Books of Hours after the Reformation as family chronicles well into the 1570s, as 'the age of the family Bible had not yet arrived'.[79] However, by the early seventeenth century the family bible had supplanted the Book of Hours as a commemorative space. The Reformation contributed to the increase in bible ownership and the use of bibles as commemorative spaces. The Protestant emphasis on scriptural authority and the increasing accessibility of vernacular bibles through print and greater literacy meant that more people were buying and owning bibles. Vernacular bibles existed in continental Europe and in England[80] before the Reformation, and they were used as sites of commemoration and memory among later generations.[81] Religious change undoubtedly benefited from and contributed to the proliferation of bibles in the sixteenth century. Reading the Bible was also an integral part of being Protestant. Many religious manuals encouraged people to read the scriptures on a regular if not daily basis.

[79]Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, p. 174.

[80] Vernacular bibles were outlawed in England by the Constitution of 1408 issued by Archbishop Thomas Arundel (135–1414). The Constitution aimed to eradicate Lollardy through the regulation of preaching and the prohibition of lay ownership of vernacular bibles in response to the circulation of John Wycliffe's vernacular translation of the Vulgate Bible. However, bibles which had received episcopal licence were permitted in orthodox lay circles, and in the words of Richard Marsden, 'it seems that what mattered was who owned a translation, not the translation itself' (p. 236). The late medieval church accepted lay ownership of vernacular bibles further up the social scale. See Richard Marsden, 'The Bible in English', in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 2, *600–1450*, eds. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 235–236. On the relationship between Lollardy and the English vernacular Bible, see the chapter 'Lollardy: The English Heresy', in Anne Hudson, *Lollards and their Books* (London, 1985). For comprehensive coverage of the early modern Bible, see Euan Cameron, ed., *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 3, *1450–1750* (Cambridge, 2016). For a discussion of vernacular bibles in the post-Reformation period complicating assumptions regarding confessional relationships with vernacular bibles see Alexandra Walsham, 'Unclasping the Book? Post-Reformation Catholicism and the Vernacular Bible', *Journal of British Studies* 42 (2003), p. 149.

[81] The Remembering the Reformation exhibition contains several examples of bibles being used as commemorative spaces and as sites of memory, including a bible used by Martin Luther and an heirloom bible containing a fifteenth-century Wycliffite or 'Lollard' vernacular translation of the scriptures, present in CUL Additional MS 6680. 'Monuments and Memorials', *Remembering the Reformation*, Cambridge University Library, accessed 12 April 2018, https://exhibitions.lib.cam.ac.uk/reformation/case/monuments-and-memorials/.

The prefatory material of the Geneva Bible, the most popular English language bible of the sixteenth century, suggested that readers read and meditate on the scriptures 'everie day, twise at the least'.[82] This not only meant that early modern people came into frequent and consistent contact with their bibles, but also that the holy book could be displayed in the public spaces of homes as an object of decoration, as Tara Hamling has shown.[83] Often bibles were handed down, particularly from fathers to sons, and mothers to daughters. Beyond family heirlooms, bibles were also often 'archives' of family records of births, baptisms, marriages and deaths, a practice Femke Molekamp observed in twenty-four of the British Library's 106 complete Geneva Bibles.[84] The following analysis suggests that biblical paratexts were potent sites of commemoration and articulation of Protestant identity in early modern England.

Paratextual monuments are found, for instance, in the bible owned by the parliamentary officer and politician Phillip Skippon (d. 1660). He used his 1610 Geneva Bible to create a domestic textual monument. Skippon recorded family information, primarily his marriage to Maria Comes in the Netherlands in 1622 and the births and deaths of eight children, on the 3 flyleaves at the front of his Bible. The inside cover explicitly states Skippon's intent to pass on this Bible as an heirloom to one of his children, where Skippon wrote, 'This Bible mentioned in my testament is for my sonne Luke Skippon Let him have it'.[85] The entries on the flyleaves commemorate various members of the Skippon family. The record of births and deaths of Skippon's children commemorate his offspring. In conjunction with a record of Skippon's marriage, these

[82] 'Certaine Questions and Answeres touching the doctrine of Predestination, the use of Gods worde and Sacraments', contained in black-letter Geneva Bible editions from 1579, cited in Femke Molekamp, '"Of the Incomparable Treasure of the Holy Scriptures': The Geneva Bible in the Early Modern Household', in *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, eds. Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield (Farnham, 2009), p. 121.
[83] Tara Hamling, 'Living with the Bible in Post-Reformation England: The Materiality of Text, Image and Object in Domestic Life', *Studies in Church History* 50 (2014), pp. 210–239.
[84] Molekamp, 'The Geneva Bible in the Early Modern Household', p. 126.
[85] SRO 613/733.

entries also document Skippon's virility and testify to Skippon's masculinity as a patriarch and memorialise him as an individual.[86] Skippon's ardent, puritan religiosity[87] left its mark on nearly every entry. Recording the birth and subsequent death of his first-born child, Skippon wrote

> our first borne Anna Skippon was borne on wednes-day the the [sic] 22th of october 1623 old stile betweene six and seaven a clocke in the evening in hendrick Jans his house in the preacher street within utrecht and was baptized on the next sabath day being the 26th of october as before. This child dyed the 10th [20th?] of August 1624 old stile. The Lord gave and the lord have taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord Job 1:21.[88]

For the birth of his fifth child, a son named Philip, Skippon recorded

> Our Fift Child, and second sonne Phillip Skippon was borne att Amersford on saturday att night betweene then and eleven of clocke in the same house where the former two were borne Lord our god what shall wee renter unto thee for that undeserved, unexpected, most seasonable, speedy, safe and happy deliverance vouchsafed to my poore wife and that all was soe well with mother and Child (in my absence) before in and after the Child birth where as els all had gone to wrack most Lamentably, all glory Lord, all glory bee only unto thee, who hast pleased heerein to heare and helpe soe remarkably and to deale with us soe gratiously who are every way the most unthankfull and unworthy, and deserve to perrish utterly accept deare god our untayned though exceeding weake desires to magnifie thee who only art worthy to be blessed.[89]

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[86] See Chapter three below.
[87] Ian Gentles described Skippon's religiosity as 'an uncomplicated, non-sectarian brand of puritanism'. I use the term puritan here in an inclusive way, much like Patrick Collinson's term 'the hotter sort', rather than to refer to sectarians or radical nonconformity *per se*. See Ian J. Gentles, 'Skippon, Philip, appointed Lord Skippon under the protectorate (d. 1660), Parliamentarian Army Officer and Politician', *ODNB,* accessed 19 December 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-25693. Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, 1967), p. 27.
[88] SRO 613/733, flyleaf 2r.
[89] SRO 613/733, flyleaf 2v.

Skippon's entries reveal how the consequences of religious change informed what he chose to record and how he recorded this information. The overwhelming presence of providential language and the theme of salvation in Skippon's writing is striking. The entries regarding the difficult birth of his daughter Maria Skippon and her recovery from fever only weeks later are laden with providential language and thanksgiving. Of her birth, Skippon wrote

> Our fourth child, and third daughter, maria Skippon was borne on munday the 28 of march 1631 betweene 10 and 11 of clocke in the day att Amersford in the same house where my sonne William was borne. O lord our god all glory be only unto thee, for the sudden remarkable yea wonderfull deliverance which thy all mighty hand did vouch-safe to my poore wife, even beyond the course of nature as all those women by did testify, and when all was past hope: oh may wee never forgett but alwayes make right use of it, the more to be thankfull unto, to humble our selves before to stand in awe of, to call upon and to trust in, and to serve thee our most gratious god, our most mercyfull father, and only helper in greatest need, through Jesus Christ amen. This child was baptised the next sabath day beeing the 3rd of aprill 1631.[90]

He then recorded how Maria became sick with fever only a few weeks after her birth

> This child the Lord visited (when it was about 9 weekes) with a grievous cough, burning Feaver, and the small pox, in such extremitie, that those which beheld it sayd it could not possible escape yea not live halfe an howre, soe that wee prayed for, and expected the deliverance thereof by death, if it were the will of god: yet our god suddenly and wonderfully recovered it, when all was helpelesse, and we past hope, soe restoring in us agayne as from death to life for which Lord we prayse thee for evermore.[91]

[90] SRO 613/773, flyleaf 2v.
[91] SRO 613/633, flyleaf 2v.

Skippon gave thanks to God for his 'sudden remarkable yea wonderfull deliverance' for saving his wife from a difficult childbirth; God saved her 'even beyond the course of nature', which suggests the miraculous nature of her survival. Similarly, God willed Maria Skippon to 'suddenly and wonderfully' recover from her illness. Skippon used this providential miracle as a reminder to 'humble ourselves before to stand in awe of…thee our most gratious god'.[92] The fervent language of thanksgiving not only for the saving of Skippon's wife's life but also for providing a revelation of His divine power in every-day lives is demonstrative of the use of a Protestant 'script' in several ways. First, the presence of providence in Skippon's text – in this entry more is said about God than his daughter – is representative of a fervent Protestant faith. The giving of thanks for God's mercy was part of the expectation that Christians should be grateful for His mercies. All Christians, but especially Protestants of the hotter sort, were also encouraged to receive God's work in their lives gladly and happily regardless of the outcome. This is especially evident in the entry pertaining to Maria's illness. Her recovery restored the Skippons' faith and hope, which seemed to have wavered somewhat despite Skippon's assertion that they prayed for her 'deliverance' if it was the will of God, and is likened to the resurrection, restoring them 'as from death to life which Lord we prayse thee'. As Skippon wrote in the entry regarding Maria's birth, he was expected to 'never forget but alwayes make right use of it'; Skippon wanted to use this evidence of providence to meditate on and to better himself as a Christian through the cultivation of greater humility and submission to God's will.

These entries serve as a commemoration on several levels. First, they commemorate the birth and life of Maria Skippon. Second, they 'monument' Skippon through the memorialisation of his own piety. These entries demonstrate his fulfilment

[92] SRO 613/633, flyleaf 2v.

of Christian expectations such as meditation, humility, gratitude, and the expected cyclical crises of hope and doubt that defined the Protestant emotional existence.[93] But they also serve as evidence of God's favourable involvement in Skippon's life through the saving of his wife and his daughter. Protestants were expected to look for these signs because they could be interpreted as evidence of their own membership among the elect. This is much more explicitly suggested when Skippon compared the restoration of hope after Maria's recovery to resurrection.

The tendency to commemorate providence continues across many of Skippon's entries on the flyleaves of his Bible. On the death of his first-born child, Anna Skippon, he finished the entry with the biblical verse Job 1:21 – 'The Lord gave and the lord have taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord'.[94] When he recorded the death of his son William Skippon in Scotland during the civil wars in 1646, he wrote that William 'left this life for a better att Edinburgh in Scotland the 21 of march 1646' and quoted Job 9:12 – 'behold, he taketh away who can hinder him? who will say unto him what doest thou?'[95] At the bottom of the page, which contains both death entries, Skippon wrote 'The Children which god hath gractiously given gen 33:5'.[96] Every subsequent entry is laden with providential language and thanksgiving for God's intervention in the key lifecycle moments of the Skippon family. When his son Philip was born safely without complication, Skippon wrote, 'Lord our god what shall wee renter unto thee for that undeserved, unexpected, most seasonable, speedy, safe and happy deliverance… all glory Lord, all glory bee only unto thee, who hast pleased heerein to heare and helpe soe remarkably and to deale with us soe gratiously who are every way the most unthankfull and unworthy, and deserve to perrish utterly accept deare god our untayned though exceeding weake desires to magnifie thee who only art worthy to be blessed'. This entry

[93] On this see Ryrie, *Being Protestant.*
[94] SRO 613/733, flyleaf 2r.
[95] SRO 613/733, flyleaf 2r.
[96] SRO 613/733, flyleaf 2r.

in particular expressed a fervent Protestant language of unworthiness. While Skippon's bible commemorates his children and his own piety, these commemorative aspects are second to the memorialization of God's providence and His favour shown to the Skippons. This would allow friends and family, present and future, to see God's favour for the Skippon family, and in doing so, these future witnesses would see evidence of the Skippons' membership among the elect.[97] Prefacing the family bible with accounts of God's favour towards the Skippons allowed subsequent generations to meditate on the example of their forebears as they undertook their prescribed religious study. Biblical paratexts allowed for the coexistence of religious devotion and commemoration in one space, which emphasised the didactic purpose of remembering.

The Bible owned by the book-binder/seller John Norgate is another site of paratextual monuments.[98] He recorded the 'memorial of proceedings' of his own life and that of his step-father Nicholas Felton, Bishop of Ely, along with astrological and spiritual information in the 1630s. Norgate wrote his 'proceedings' on the blank endpages located 'at the end of the Singing Psalms', suggesting that Norgate had a copy of the Book of Common Prayer bound with his Bible. The 'proceedings' consist of four pages of text written in a neat, careful hand. Norgate first outlined his autobiographical

[97] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 312.
[98] On Norgate, see also David Stoker, 'John Norgate, the Autobiography of a Seventeenth-Century Stationer and Bookbinder', *The Book Collector* 44 (1995), pp. 367–370.

information before he sketched the biography of his deceased stepfather, Bishop Nicholas Felton, who died in 1626.[99]

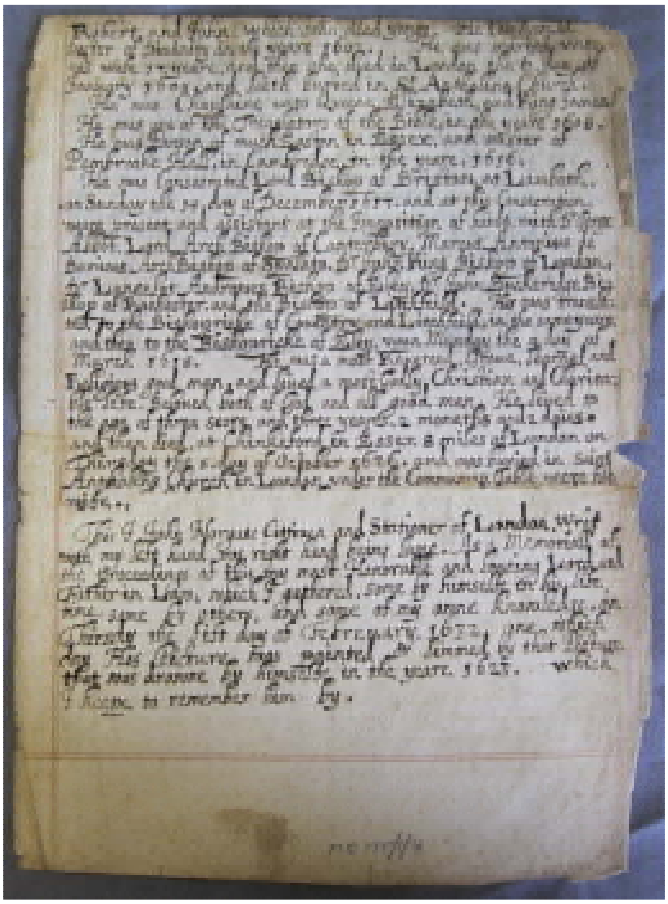
What is most interesting about Norgate's text is the commemorative context in which it was created. In his will, Felton was very explicit regarding how he was to be remembered after his death. He stipulated:

> My desire is it [his corpse] may be buried in the night with no solemnitye nore attendance save of such of my servants as shalbe about me, and such either neighbours or freinds [sic] as shall thinke good being near and uncalled to take that paines of for me, to do unto me their last dutie, which I doe thankfully accept.[100]

[99] NRO MC 175/1/3–4.
[100] TNA PRO 11/150/73.

Felton did not want to be remembered with pomp and ceremony. His household and friends who wanted to pay their respects were permitted to attend his burial, but the funeral was not supposed to be a large lavish ceremony, although one would have been

Figure 2: Norgate's 'Proceedings'[101]



socially appropriate for a man of his station in the Church. He was buried in one of the places of highest honour in St. Antholin's, under the communion table, but beyond stipulating he would like to be buried in whichever parish he should die in, he did not

[101] NRO MC 175/1/4. Reproduced with the permission of the Norfolk Record Office.

make any requests regarding where he was buried. The decision to transport his body back to London to St. Antholin's to be buried by his wife was one undertaken by his executors. Felton's rejection of ceremony suggests he may have been 'hotter' in his spiritual beliefs, but it also may be evidence of an ambivalence toward memory and commemoration, a tension between the social requirement of last rites and what may be a desire for a limited, humble remembrance among family and friends, or even oblivion. There was precedent for a desire for oblivion among Protestants; John Calvin was famously buried in an unmarked grave. At the very least, it is reasonable to assume that Felton never wanted a monument to remember him.

In contrast, Norgate explicitly stated that the purpose of writing biographically about his father was commemorative. This is a textual monument, a memorial. Norgate wrote that his account of his stepfather's life was 'a memoriall of the proceedings of this my most Honorable and Loveing Lord and Father in Law, which I gathered, some by himselfe, in his life time, some by others, and some of my owne knowledge'.[102] The 'proceedings' were written at the end of the 'Singing Psalms' in the Bible, and the Psalter was viewed as one of the most direct ways to communicate with God through prayer or singing.[103] Thus the proceedings occupy an important space in the text. The reverence afforded to the Bible, and importance of where the proceedings were found in the text create a kind of sacred space for Felton's memorial. The direction to where one can locate it in the Bible using Norgate's table of contents suggests the importance of being able to find the text easily. Ease of access suggests that Norgate intended Felton's 'proceedings' to be read and read often. This commemoration and the meaning of the

[102] NRO MC 175/1/3–4.
[103] NRO MC 175/1/2.

space it occupies in Norgate's Bible is in tension with the final requests of Nicholas Felton.

The timing of Norgate's record is also important to consider. Norgate noted at the end of his text that it was written on 'Thirsday the 5th of February 1632 one which day his Picture was painted or limmed by that Picture that was drawne by himselfe in the year 1623 which I keepe to remember him by'.[104] Norgate wrote this after having a painting made of his stepfather to remember him. Thus, the text and the image operate in tandem as two monuments to Felton, a picture on the wall, and words in the most sacred of books, and it is in this small piece of information that one gets a sense of the importance of the relationship that Norgate had with Felton. The past could be profoundly personal and intimate.

The positioning of the memorial to Felton within Norgate's Bible, its accessibility via a table of contents, and its coincidence with the painting of a portrait suggests that this entry was part of a multimedia commemorative endeavour. Tara Hamling has suggested that bibles were often publicly displayed in domestic spaces. Perhaps Norgate's Bible was situated in a parlour near a portrait of Felton, allowing the family to meditate upon Felton's example as they undertook their familial bible reading and religious instruction, thus creating a commemorative space within the domestic sphere where image, text, and object intersected, although there is no way of knowing if this was the case. At the very least, it can be said that by creating two monuments, one

[104] NRO MC 175/1/3–4.

textual in the family bible, and one visual in the form of a portrait, Norgate was diversifying the sites of remembrance of his stepfather.

Monumentality and Print

Manuscript sources had a very limited audience of close family and friends. These sources were highly personalised to suit the interests and intentions of the author. Manuscript offered these domestic texts the flexibility and intimacy that defined these domestic monuments. Domestic manuscripts were not the only new space where Protestant commemorative functions took hold in the aftermath of religious change. Printed textual monuments offered a particularly powerful way to circulate memory of the dead, to inculcate Protestant piety and doctrine through the exemplarity of the deceased, to infuse commemorative culture with monuments to God, and to offer, in the opinions of some, more durable monuments that those offered by marble or pen and ink.

To write was to monument. To publish was to amplify the stability of memory through the expansion of a possible network of remembrance. This is not to deny the enduring power of manuscript in early modern culture; it remained an integral form of written text even after the advent of the printing press, as Harold Love's study of scribal publication has demonstrated.[105] However, print was increasingly an option for textual commemoration. Print was particularly well suited to the commemoration of individuals to celebrate their fame, to apply for preferment between clients and patrons, to evangelise the general public, or to provide a more durable monument. Print had its critics. Harold Love has suggested that print carried a stigma that encouraged writers such as John Donne and social elites to favour scribal publication and circulation.[106] However manuscript, like sculpture, was a medium that was assaulted by iconoclastic zeal as a result of religious change. Monastic libraries of medieval manuscripts were

[105] Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993).
[106] Love, *Scribal Publication*, p. 47.

dismantled or obliterated during the Dissolution. Devotional works now deemed theologically unsound had offending phrases and works scratched or scrubbed out, and books were burned in symbolic executions.[107] The memory of the Dissolution and its impact on manuscript culture led Matthew Parker to publish his archives in print in the 1560s, suggesting that the press offered a more stable, durable place of preservation.[108] While historians have corrected the overstated relationship between Protestantism and the press,[109] John Foxe and other contemporaries did recognise the usefulness of the press for evangelical purposes and celebrated the proselytising power of print in their polemic. Foxe called the printing press a 'divine and miraculous invention' that God used 'to subdue his exalted adversary [the Pope]…with printing, writing, and reading to convince darkenes by light, errour by truth, ignorance by learning'.[110]

Of course, not all Elizabethan Protestants shared Foxe's enthusiasm for the press. While devotionals such as Richard Day's *A booke of Christian prayers* (1578) were part of an increasing body of devotional and religious literature, preachers in particular were hesitant to print their sermons, fearing that people would think that reading was a substitution for hearing the Word preached.[111] This shifted in the early seventeenth century, however, as increasing numbers of preachers came to see print as a way to further the moral edification of the masses, and the 1620s and 1630s marked a watershed in the printing of sermons, including commemorative ones such as funeral sermons, and

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[107] See for example, David Cressy, 'Book Burning in Tudor and Stuart England', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 36 (2005), pp. 359–374.
[108] See Anthony Grafton's work on Matthew Parker's library and his preference for the durability of print. Anthony Grafton, 'Matthew Parker: The Book as Archive', *History of the Humanities* 2 (2017), pp. 15–50. See also the end of the discussion on John Foxe in chapter one above.
[109] See Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham, eds., *TheUses of Print and Script, 1300–1700* (Cambridge, 2004).
[110] John Foxe, *Actes and monuments… 2 vols,* 1582 ed, (London, 1582), vol. 2, p. 707.
[111] Richard Day, *A booke of Christian prayers, collected out of the auncient writers, and best learned in our tyme, worthy to be read with an earnest mynde of all Christians, in these daungerous and troublesome dayes, that God for Christes sake will yet still be mercyfull unto us* (London, 1578). On sermons see Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge, 2010).

the emergence of the commemorative elegy. The latter was predated by the increased appearance of commemorative epitaphs and broadsides in print from the 1580s onward.[112]

Print could reach a wider, more diverse audience than scribal publication in a shorter period of time. But the two spheres were not mutually exclusive. Some works made their way into print from manuscript or aural delivery. Funeral sermons were delivered orally either off the cuff or by reading from notes or fully scribed sermons before they were printed, and private spiritual diaries could be mined to create printed textual monuments as well.[113] Print and manuscript did not operate in opposition but rather suited different purposes and audiences.[114]

What follows is an analysis of two general forms of printed monuments: the funeral sermon, which was well established as a Protestant commemorative text by the 1580s (although it would take another three decades for sermons to be printed prolifically), and the development of what I call 'architectural printed monuments' in the late 1620s and early 1630s. To begin, we will examine the first explicitly commemorative printed text to use the term 'monument' in its title after the publication of Foxe's *Actes and monuments* (1563) in order to analyse some of the anxieties and

[112] Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, ch. 3.
[113] Stephen Denison, *The monument or tombe-stone: or, A sermon preached at Laurence Pountnies Church in London, Nouember 21 1619 at the funerall of Mrs. Elizabeth Iuxon, the late wife of Mr. Iohn Iuxon*… (London, 1620).
[114] Several studies have examined the interplay between print and script including A.I. Doyle, Elizabeth Rainey and Dudley Butler Wilson, *Manuscript to Print: Tradition and Innovation in the Renaissance Book* (Durham, 1995); Arthur Mariotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, 1995); Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron, eds., *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2001); Crick and Walsham, *The Uses of Manuscript and Print*; and David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge, 2004) to name but a few.

tensions that defined the relationship between memory, monumentality, and print during the first half of Elizabeth's reign.

In Defence of Monuments: Fleming's commemoration of William Lambe

A memoriall of the famous monuments and charitable almesdeedes of the right worshipfull Maister William Lambe esquire (1580) was written by Abraham Fleming. William Lambe was a well-connected philanthropist in London who died in 1580, and he commissioned Fleming to write this memorial as part of a 'carefully coordinated plan for [his] memorialisation that had been decades in the making – by Lambe himself'.[115] Abraham Fleming was a clergyman and an author and is perhaps best known for editing the 1587 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*.[116] Fleming entitled his text a 'memoriall', making the commemorative function of the text explicit. Fleming's text opens first, and foremost, with a defence of commemoration, which testifies to the ambivalent relationship between remembrance of the dead and Protestantism. Fleming justified the remembrance of Lambe's 'notable actes and famous monuments' because Lambe's life was deemed to be praiseworthy due to his charity. He argued that Lambe was a man 'whose praises to supresse with silence, sithence [sic] they are deserved and not sought, it were a wrong, as I judge in conscience which the verie Heathen would not once

[115] Alan Stewart, 'The Memorals of William Lambe', in *The Oxford History of Life-Writing,* vol. 2, *Early Modern* (Oxford, 2018), p. 96. Ian W. Archer, 'Lambe, William (d. 1580), Philanthropist*', ODNB*, accessed 8 May 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-15929.

[116] Cyndia Susan Clegg, 'Fleming, Abraham (c.1552–1607), Author, Literary Editor, and Church of England Clergyman', *ODNB*, accessed 8 May 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9693.

conceive'.[117] Not even the heathen would be blind to Lambe's virtues and the perfectly reasonable ground for his commemoration. Fleming further appealed to his readers to

> give me leave (I say) for the glorie of God and the memory of the Gentleman, to report unto the world…the determinations of a devout minde, the precise purposes of a settled heart, the commendable works of a liberall hand, the verie certeintie of an undoubted trueth, which is worthie, not to be printed in white and black, but to be graven in Marble with letters of golde, in the memoriall of him after death, whose deedes did sufficiently advance him in this life.[118]

Here Fleming explicitly stated that the remembrance of Lambe was also a furtherer of the 'glorie of God'. The justification of the monument as a site of commemoration not only of the individual but also of God and His works was a common theme, both implicitly and explicitly in textual monuments, which had the space to better articulate this than physical monuments. The emphasis on the deceased as an instrument of God's works not only reinforced predestinarian doctrine, but it also helped to circumvent some of the concerns Protestants had about monuments by privileging the commemoration of God's graces over the individual. This emphasis on God's work rather than the individual is also suggested by the rather limited use of the deceased's name in the text. Fleming referred to Lambe by name in the title and once or twice in the text itself. Instead he refers to Lambe as this or that 'worshipfull Gentleman' or another epithet. Fleming further defended monuments by arguing that they were not only used by pagans, but also by the God-fearing; noting that 'even in the sacred Scriptures… the holie Ghost hath vouchsafed some such speciall and sovereigne dignitie, as to have their

[117] Abraham Fleming, *A memoriall of the famous monuments and charitable almesdeedes of the right worshipfull Maister William Lambe esquire somtime gentleman of the chappell, in the reigne of the most renowmed [sic] King Henrie the eight, &c. and late citizen of London, and free of the right worshipfull companie of clothworkers: deceased the 21. of April. Anno 1580. Recorded in print, according to the various and trueth of his last will and testament by Abraham Fleming* (London, 1580), fol. A2r.
[118] Fleming, *A memoriall*, fols. A2r–A2v.

names registred even in the Bible, their virtues extolled, their deedes advaunced'.[119] And while commemoration of God and of Lambe is one motivation of the text, another is the moral edification of the wealthy to encourage them to be charitable. Fleming requested that his readers 'behold with earnest eyes the Testatours bountifull bequests whith they cannot being so charitable, but smell sweet in the Lords sight…and (if it could be) an effectuall imitation, which the Lord God worke in the hearts of all them that are wealthie'.[120]

After establishing the propriety of monuments, the remainder of the text is a commendation of Lambe, which pays tribute to his education, his charitable works, and mention of his good death. Fleming first memorialised Lambe's learning and the positions it enabled him to hold at court; Lambe was a member of the vestry of the Chapel Royal under Henry VIII. Fleming attributed Lambe's career success to learning, for learning was the 'instrument of his advancement' and this virtue was vouchsafed by the Lord; it 'removed him from a mean estate, to a worshipfull calling: from the Countrie, to the Court'.[121] 'It pleased God to move him by his good and gracious spirite'.[122] This learning not only brought Lambe preferment in his rank and status through service to the Crown, but it also inspired him to build a grammar school in Sutton Valence, Kent, as well as almshouses for the poor, and to establish stipends and pensions for the master of the school, and scholarships for poor scholars.[123] It is these physical buildings and fiscal gifts that Fleming referred to as 'monuments' of 'godly and charitable works of Christianitie' that 'deserve not a more permanent memoriall than penne and inke can perform'.[124] The concern about oblivion, despite the endurance of

[119] Fleming, *A memoriall*, fols. A3v–A4r.
[120] Fleming, *A memoriall*, fol. A3v.
[121] Fleming, *A memoriall*, fols. B4r–B4v.
[122] Fleming, *A memoriall*, fol. B4v.
[123] Fleming, *A memoriall*, fols. B4v–B5r.
[124] Fleming, *A memoriall*, fol. B5v.

physical buildings, impelled Fleming to record these 'monuments' in writing. Fleming then commemorated Lambe's 'provident eye, and a carefull heart for the profit of the Common-welth' and noted how Lambe provided relief for clothiers in several counties, and his acts of charity in London, including the building of the Holborn conduit to provide fresh drinking water, and the provision of jobs for poor women to fetch the water, among other acts of charity.[125]

This emphasis on charitable giving and its memorialisation was an integral part of London's cultural landscape. The commemoration of charity was thought to spur further charity among the living elites, and parish churches and the livery companies were communities in which 'the elite constantly recalled the charitable acts of previous members of the ruling group, as a spur to further charitable endeavour, and also in the process legitimating (with varying degrees of success) a set of unequal power relations'.[126] Lambe's commemorative and charitable endeavours were not only commonplace in early modern London, they anticipated the similarly diverse commemorative and philanthropic strategies deployed by Robert Rogers (d.1601) and his estate, which resulted in the printing of *A living remembrance* (1601) which recorded an epitaph in verse and a list of his bequests.[127] In the case of Lambe, Fleming wrote that these acts of charity gave Londoners 'just cause with open mouth to magnifie the

[125] Fleming, *A memoriall,* fols. B5v–B7r.
[126] Ian Archer, 'The Arts and Acts of Memorialization in Early Modern London', in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598–1720,* ed. Julia F. Merritt (Cambridge, 2001), p. 90. On Protestant charity see also Ian Archer, 'The Charity of Early Modern Londoners', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002), pp. 223–244.
[127] See the introduction in Andrew Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text and Community* (London, 2013), pp. 5–6.

goodnesse of God, so mightily working in this praiseworthie Gentleman'.[128] These acts of charity were acts of God.

Beyond his works of charity, Lambe was also 'very devout and religious'.[129] He was the patron of Fleming's devotional guide or prayer book, *The Conduit of Comfort* (1579), which 'being bought for little monie he was willing should be generall, even as the Conduit which he founded not severall but common'.[130] It was also his 'daily custome' to meditate on Fleming's text.[131] In addition to general almsgiving across London for the poor, Lambe was also 'seene and marked' at many St. Paul's sermons, which he attended in full, despite his age and infirmity, and studied his Bible before each sermon and maintained humble gesture in prayer at church.[132] Evidence of sermon attendance and of contemplative prayer were not only signs of Lambe's piety, but also of his Protestantism; part of Fleming's intent was also to clear Lambe of rumours of religious conservatism and popery.[133]

Finally, Fleming noted that 'as a Lamb he lived, a Lamb he died'.[134] Lambe's death was 'godly, even as his conversation was honest, and as he fell to the Lorde, so no doubt he shall rise to the Lord at the last day'.[135] Lambe did not expound his own merits and deeds on his death bed, and Fleming explicitly noted that he died believing in justification by faith not by works, another defence of his Protestantism, and noted that

[128] Fleming, *A memoriall*, fol. B6r.
[129] Fleming, *A memoriall*, fol. B7v.
[130] Fleming, *A memoriall*, fol. B7v. Fleming attributes this text to Lambe, writing that it was 'published under his name' (fol. B7v). Unless there is a lost alternative text with the same title missing from the ESTC, it likely refers to Fleming's publication, and thus patronage, rather than authorship, is assumed.
[131] Fleming, *A memoriall*, fol. B7v.
[132] Fleming, *A memoriall*, fol. B12v.
[133] Fleming, *A memoriall*, fols. B11v–B12v.
[134] Fleming, *A memoriall*, fol. C1r.
[135] Fleming, *A memoriall*, fol. C1r.

he died in assurance of his own salvation at the age of eighty-four.[136] Fleming ended his text with a prayer that the rich would be inspired by Lambe's generosity.

Fleming's memorial is indicative of several developments regarding the relationship between monumentality, religion and text in the Elizabethan period. The text clearly addresses some of the anxieties surrounding commemoration, both the traditional physical spaces it occurred in and its forms, not only through the initial defence of monuments, but in other ways as well. One such way is the explicit treatment of charitable works as monuments to Lambe's memory and his virtues. This focus on charitable works moves the commemorative space outside the religious space of the church. This was not unique to the early modern period; the medieval period, as we have seen, was rich with a diverse number of commemorative strategies, and the modern practice of naming colleges, buildings, and endowed chairs in higher education or of buildings and other forms of infrastructure such as roadways and bridges after benefactors or persons of historical note continues a long tradition of creating commemorative spaces in the form of schools and infrastructure. These efforts however took on a sense of urgency and necessity against the backdrop of iconoclasm and Protestant ambivalence towards monuments created by the Reformation. The diversification of memory into text and architecture was a safeguard against oblivion both accidental and deliberate. Fleming's record of these buildings not only preserves a benefaction, but it also diversifies and preserves the memory of the individual and charity in several alternative sites of memory like a mnemonic mutual fund. By multiplying the types and number of sites of memory, the likelihood that the deceased

[136] Fleming, *A memoriall*, fols. C1r–C1v.

would be remembered would theoretically increase because the risk of oblivion was mitigated.

The text also illustrates both the distinction and blurring of boundaries between physical and textual space. Fleming wrote that Lambe's memory was worthy not only of textual commemoration but also of three-dimensional monuments, as implied by the reference to marble with engraved gold letters in the quotation above. This suggests that Fleming doubted the mnemonic power of text, or at the very least, intimates that Fleming thought Lambe was worthy of a grander monument than that provided by text. But later, he wrote that the grammar school and other monuments deserved a no more enduring monument that one crafted in pen and ink. In addition, Fleming recorded that Lambe had not one physical monument within the church, but two, and noted the epitaph as well as the fact that Lambe had commissioned his tomb over a decade before he died.[137] Fleming's work blurs the boundaries between the two types of space. The textual version preserves a copy of the monument, and the preserving potential is amplified by print. The blurring of the boundaries is perhaps suggested further if we consider Fleming's concern about 'pen and inke' and his references to graven marble and physical monuments in a more metaphorical sense. Pen and ink could be a synecdoche for all written culture, but if the phrase connotes manuscript culture perhaps then print culture metaphorically becomes the 'marble' of the textual world. This implies that print has greater durability. This perhaps explains why Fleming insisted, *in text* that Lambe was worthy of a marble monument, in full knowledge that he had two physical funeral monuments in existence. Print in this instance became a physical monument itself and one that complemented the physical monuments in the church. Texts could preserve much more information than a physical monument since they were not subject to the same spatial limitations, and print could mitigate against the risk of destruction

[137] Fleming, *A memoriall*, fols. C1v–C3r.

since it was the medium that supported the greatest number of copies of a monument, for 'above all remembrances… for worthinesse and continuance, bookes, or writings, have ever had the preheminence.[138] This is not to suggest that all early modern people conceived of the relationship between manuscript, print and physical monuments this way, but as the evidence suggests below, it was a perspective that became increasingly popular in the seventeenth century.

Funeral Sermons

The printed funeral sermon emerged as a particularly Protestant form of commemoration. The funeral sermon had its roots in the pre-Reformation funeral oration given at the burial of the dead, a practice which dated back to the thirteenth century in England.[139] Medieval sermons encouraged the contemplation of mortality and intercessory prayer for the dead, as well as commendation of the deceased. With the Reformation and the repudiation of the doctrine of purgatory, new traditions were needed to remember the dead in conformity with Protestant doctrine and with respect to concerns regarding the veneration of the dead and charges of idolatry. This need, coupled with the Protestant emphasis on preaching sermons to educate Christians in the doctrines of the Protestant church, led to the increasing popularity of the funeral sermon from the 1580s into the seventeenth century.

The Protestant funeral sermon continued to be an opportunity to reflect on death and to commemorate the dead, but the commendation, the biographical portion of the sermon, was primarily a source of edification of the living and an opportunity to expound doctrine. The funeral sermon highlighted the godly facets of the deceased's life, although the boundaries between civic virtues and pious exemplarity were highly

[138] John Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments within the united monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the islands adjacent... composed by the studie and travels of John Weever* (London, 1631), p. 1.
[139] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family*, p. 13.

porous.[140] The funeral sermon initially raised concerns among some Protestants regarding worship of the dead. While the puritans John Field and Thomas Wilcox were outliers in their zeal and favour for Presbyterianism within the Elizabethan church, their objections to the burial service outlined in the *Admonition to the Parliament* (1572) do articulate some of the concern regarding the burial service. According to these two clergymen, burial sermons were 'put in place of trentalles, whereout spring many abuses, and therefore in the best reformed churches are removed'.[141] There was a concern among some Protestants, particularly in the first two decades of the Elizabethan church, that the sermon could be confused with traditional, now Catholic, burial practices that encouraged prayer and ceremony for the intercessory benefit of the dead. In general however, the clergy across the English church, be they puritan or prayer-book Protestants, saw the funeral sermon as an opportunity to instruct their flocks in doctrine and to edify them with the example of the dead.[142] Funeral sermons in general could 'claim to represent a success story in the campaign to Protestantize mortuary ritual'.[143] The funeral sermon was a form of commemoration that suited Protestant doctrine and interests in godly instruction, and it had the additional benefit of being more affordable than other forms of commemoration such as monumental brasses or large-scale physical funeral monuments[144], although many of those with sermons would have had physical monuments as well. Diversification was still the best guarantee that one would be remembered. The funeral sermon was a form of commemoration open to many more individuals across the social strata of English society and was commissioned from

[140] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family*, p. 297.
[141] John Field and Thomas Wilcox, *An admonition to the parliament* (Hamel Hampstead, 1572), fol. C3r.
[142] See Peter Marshall's excellent discussion of the evolution of the funeral sermon in Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead,* pp. 156–161.
[143] Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead,* p. 160.
[144] The cost of a funeral sermon in Elizabethan Essex was between 6s. 8d. and 10s, and £1 in Stuart London. See Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family*, p. 300. The gentleman Richard Wilton paid 13s. 4d. in burial costs but a total of 44s. for the burial of his son Richard and his funeral sermon. This means that the sermon cost £1 10s. 8d., nearly half a pound more than the going London rate. See CUL Buxton Papers 96/15, p. 128.

preachers by individuals from across the spectrum of Protestant belief in England, from puritans to prayer-book Protestants.[145]

While funeral sermons as a commemorative genre were increasingly popular from the 1580s, it would take longer for preachers to print their funeral sermons on a more substantial scale. Only by the 1620s did the clergy begin to really see print as a useful new medium for their message.[146] Preachers were apprehensive about publishing their sermons in the 1590s for a number of reasons, including a belief that hearing was a superior, more active sense with which to receive the Word of God in contrast to the passivity of reading.[147] There were also fears that print would supplant preaching or cheapen its value, or worse, that church attendance would drop off since people could read sermons at home.[148] Despite these initial fears, the printing of funeral sermons increased from twenty per year in the Elizabethan period to one- to two hundred sermons annually by the end of the 1630s.[149] By the 1620s, preachers saw printed sermons as a mnemonic aid to the private religious study and meditation of their congregations, as a way to articulate alternative religious positions, especially for puritan ministers, and as a solution to meet the demand for sermons from the laity.[150]

In his monograph on the sermon, Arnold Hunt consistently emphasised the performative nature of the sermon, and the importance of understanding it as an aural, and oral event. However, the funeral sermon was also a part of a burgeoning world of textual monumentality, the meaning of which warrants further scrutiny. Efforts to investigate this have been undertaken to some extent by Hannah Yip, who has argued for examining the printed funeral sermon as a cultural object and has demonstrated the

[145] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family*, p. 299.
[146] Hunt, *Art of Hearing*, p. 119.
[147] Hunt, *Art of Hearing*, pp. 22–23, see especially the section 'reading and preaching' (pp.22–29) in ch. 1.
[148] Hunt, *Art of Hearing*, pp. 122–123.
[149] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family*, p. 298.
[150] Hunt, *Art of Hearing*, pp. 127–128.

relationship between the biographical commendation of the sermon with portraiture and funeral monuments.[151] She reinterpreted the funeral sermon as 'illustrated books which shared fundamental values with the portrait miniature in gift culture, and with the funeral monument in its visual and textual aid to remembrance of the exemplary dead'.[152] The analysis below follows Yip in departing from the previous historiography which has focused on the sermon as an event, or on its journey from manuscript to print, to study the printed funeral sermon as a cultural object on its own terms.[153]

However, I place greater emphasis on deconstructing the commemorative elements of the funeral sermon, with a particular emphasis on 'monumental language'. I use this term to describe the use of terms like 'monument', 'memorial' or architectural terms associated with physical funeral monuments to illustrate the monumenting potential of the printed funeral sermon. I interrogate preconceptions of textual and physical space and demonstrate that these terms do not simply illustrate the sermon to provide visual aid, but in effect translate the sermon from textual to physical three-dimensional space. The sermon *is* a monument.[154] This is very important to keep in mind against the backdrop of the Reformation and the challenges it created in commemorative culture. The aural/oral delivery of the sermon perhaps better provided for spiritual edification. From a commemorative point of view however, the anxieties regarding forgetting meant that writing was seen by some early modern people as more stable and

[151] Yip, 'Visual Elements of the Printed Funeral Sermon'.
[152] Yip, 'Visual Elements of the Printed Funeral Sermon', p. 157.
[153] Yip also noted this. See Yip, 'Visual Elements of the Printed Funeral Sermon', p. 158. Works which focus on these aspects of the sermon are Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*; Mary Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558–1642* (Oxford, 2011); James Rigney, 'Sermons into Print', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, eds. Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington, and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford, 2011), pp. 198–212.
[154] A material rather than metaphorical reading of architectural language in literature is supported and proposed by Jonathan Gil Harris and Thomas Rist in their readings of George Herbert's poems in his collection *The Temple.* See Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia, 2008), pp. 32–65; and Thomas Rist, 'Monuments and Religion: George Herbert's Poetic Materials', in *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England*, eds. Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (Aldershot, 2013), pp. 105–123.

more reliable. The sermon as an aural event could only be heard by those in attendance. A manuscript could be copied and circulated outside the immediate eye witness to others but its stretch was somewhat limited by time taken to copy. Print, however, could reach a much larger audience and amplify the edificatory and commemorative potential of the sermon, with a much further reach than a monument in a church. What follows is a close analysis of two funeral sermons published in the 1620s.

The first of these sermons, which appeared in 1620, was Stephen Denison's funeral sermon for Elizabeth Juxon, entitled *The Monument or tomb-stone*.[155] The second is *The pilgrims profession…a perpetuall monument of her graces and vertues*, a funeral sermon preached at the funeral of Mary Gunter by Thomas Taylor.[156] Both Juxon and Gunter were puritan women. Juxon and her husband were patrons of Stephen Denison, who was a conformist puritan. Gunter's sermon was also preached by a puritan minister, and her biographical commendation includes practices more commonly associated with the 'hotter sort' such as isolation from her 'carnall neighbours' and a zealous, almost ascetic, practice of private devotion.

In his address to the reader, Denison wrote that he intended to make public both the sermon and the 'markes' of Juxon's election for the reader's consideration of their own salvation, and if the reader 'reape any benefite' that they should 'give the whole glory to God'.[157] Juxon's salvation was assumed in the dedicatory epistle where Denison exhorted Juxon's children to 'be carefull to reade and consider the marks which were in your mother…thus you shall leade a blessed life, and accomplish a happie death, and at

[155] Stephen Denison, *The monument or, tombe-stone, or, A sermon preached at Laurence Pountnies church in London, Novemb. 21. 1619. at the funerall of Mrs. Elizabeth Juxon, the late wife of Mr. John Juxon by Stephen Denison ...* (London, 1631).
[156] Thomas Taylor, *The pilgrims profession. Or a sermon preached at the funerall of Mrs Mary Gunter by Mr Thomas Taylor. To which (by his consent) also is added, a short relation of the life and death of the said gentle-woman, as a perpetuall monument of her graces and vertues* (London, 1622).
[157] Denison, *The Monument or tombe-stone*, fol. A4v.

last shall come to that heavenly kingdome'.[158] After the sermon on Job 7:3–4,[159] Denison then identified Juxon's marks of election via her 'strict and serious examination' of her spiritual estate which was 'set down in her own hand'.[160] Denison 'thought good to make them publicke, not onely for a due memoriall of this blessed servant of God; but also for the common good of Gods Church: as being indeed exceedingly importuned by good people thereunto'.[161]

Here again there is the blurring between textual and physical space we first encountered in Fleming's memorial to Lambe. Denison *made public,* or (as the early modern definition denoted) 'published'[162] the marks of her election as a memorial; print made the text public and accessible. This allowed the text to function commemoratively like a physical monument would in the public space of the church. Her role as 'servant of God' is again suggestive that the works done on earth are done by God through His children, and that the memorial was meant to edify the living, in continuity with themes identified in other works both in print and manuscript examined in this chapter. Denison identified twenty marks of her spiritual election and provided scriptural references to establish that they were the mark of the elect. For example, the fourth mark that Elizabeth Juxon meditated upon was 'fervencie and frequencie in prayer, in secret'. Denison confirmed her fervency and her frequency in prayer as an 'eare witnesse' as he heard her pray when she was not aware of his presence and that she kept 'religious hours in private'.[163] This scriptural justification for prayer, according to Denison was found in

[158] Denison, *The Monument or tombe-stone,* fol. A4r.
[159] 'So am I made to possess months of vanity, and wearisome nights are appointed to me. When I lie down, I say, when shall I arise, and the night be gone? and I am full of tossings to and fro unto the dawning of the day', Job 7:3–4, King James Version.
[160] Denison, *The Monument or tombe-stone*, p. 83. It may have originally been set down in her own hand but Denison seems to have done a great deal of editing and summarization. The headings for each mark appears to be the only prose retained in Juxon's original voice.
[161] Denison, *The Monument or tombe-stone,* p. 83.
[162] *OED Online,* s.v. 'public, v.', accessed 8 May 2018, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/154053?rskey=bZ85Wq&result=2&isAdvanced=false.
[163] Denison, *The Monument or tombe-stone,* p. 92.

Zechariah 12:10, Romans 10:13, and Matthew 6:6.[164] Other marks of election included respect and willingness to obey all of God's commandments; love of all God's children, a desire to 'stir up mine affection after God and to avoide what might steale away mine heart from him', among others.[165] in the context of the marks, Denison would also explain what evidence of these marks existed in Juxon's life, often highlighting other expected virtues such as charity, good housewifery, and others. These 'markes' commemorated the godly zeal of Juxon and were intended to inspire others. While there was some attention paid to Juxon's duties as a wife and mother, in Denison's commendation based on her interrogation of her spiritual estate, these are secondary to her relationship with God; only one of twenty marks of election pertained directly to these two primary roles.

Gunter's funeral sermon shared several characteristics with the sermon on Juxon's life, but differed significantly in others. The sermon was published by her husband, Humphrey Gunter, with a commendation of his wife's life written by him; the sermon does not contain a biographical element. Humphrey Gunter wrote his 'Profitable Memoriall of the Conversion, Life, and Death of Mistress Mary Gunter, set up as a Monument to be looked upon, both by Protestants and Papists' so 'that the happie memory of her graces and vertuous life might ever live with mee, both for incitation and imitation'.[166] His desire to 'make them more publicke' was for the 'direction of some others'.[167] He justified his intention to publish, writing 'I see not but it may be as lawfull

[164] 'And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications: and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his firstborn',. Zechariah 12:10, King James Version; 'For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved', Romans 10:13; King James Version; 'But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly', Matthew 6:6, King James Version.
[165] Denison, *The Monument or tombe-stone*, pp. 88, 102, 96.
[166] Taylor, *The pilgrims profession*, pp. 121–122.
[167] Taylor, *The pilgrims profession*, pp. 122–123.

for me, as it may prove profitable for others, to set downe the knowne Truth concerning her, that as she was in her life so also she may happily continue now after her death, an happie instrument of Gods glory in earth, as I am assured she is a vessel before him filled with his glory of heaven'.[168] Again, similar themes emerge. This textual monument commemorates the memory of Gunter as an agent of God's work, and because she was an agent of God's work commemoration of her godliness was supposed to encourage imitation among those still on their quest for their assurance, such as her husband.

But Gunter's life had a polemical purpose as well; Gunter was a Catholic who converted to Protestantism, and the story of her conversion was part of a larger discourse of conversion, providence, and interconfessional tension. Conversion narratives were always a fundamentally compelling part of Christian culture – Saul of Tarsus or St. Paul being the convert *par excellence* in Christian history – and in the decades following the Reformation conversions won for the other side were particularly potent, polemical symbols in a Christendom irreparably ripped asunder.[169] Gunter acknowledged the polemical potential of his wife's life in his introduction to his 'Profitable Memoriall'. In justifying its publication, he argued 'Besides, I am sure that if a Protestant had seduced from us (as she was called out of Popery) and had lived and dyed so zelous [sic] in that

[168] Taylor, *The pilgrims profession,* pp. 124–125.
[169] Contributions to the scholarship on conversion, politics, and polemics include W.J. Torrance Kirby, *Persuasion and Conversion: Essays on Religion, Politics and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Boston, 2013); Rosamund Oates, '"For the Lacke of True History": Polemic, Conversion and Church History in Elizabethan England', in *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England: Essays in Honour of Professor W.J. Sheils,* eds. Nadine Lewycky and Adam Morton (Farnham, 2012), pp. 133–152; Kathleen Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography in the Seventeenth-Century Anglophone World* (Oxford, 2012); Kathleen Lynch, 'Conversion Narratives in Old and New England', in *The Oxford Handbook of Literature and the English Revolution,* ed. Laura Lunger Knoppers (Oxford, 2012), pp. 425–441; Bruce Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative: Spiritual Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2005); Michael C. Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England* (Cambridge, 1996). A helpful survey of scholarly work on the topic of conversion is Lieke Stelling, 'Recent Studies in Religious Conversion', *English Literary Renaissance* 47 (2017), pp. 164–192.

Religion, as shee did in this, the Adversaries would have made their advantage of it, and published the same as one of the miracles of their Church'.[170] Publishing Mrs. Gunter's life thus became a monument to the providential triumph of Protestantism over Catholicism. As a 'Monument to be looked upon, both by Protestants and Papists', Gunter's husband saw his wife's exemplary life and the triumph of Protestantism as a compelling force to persuade Catholics to abandon their popery through meditation on Gunter's life.

The providential power of God was intrinsic to the conversion narrative of Gunter's life. Gunter was orphaned after the death of her Catholic parents and was raised by an older Catholic woman. The old woman died when Mary was fourteen 'upon which occasion God (having a mercifull purpose towards her Conversion) by his good Providence brought her to the service of that Religious and truely honourable Lady, the Countesse of Leicester'.[171] Leicester, to whom the published sermon is dedicated, realised that Mary was a Catholic and immediately began to confiscate her books, rosary 'and all such trumpery', and to supervise her prayers. Leicester also forced Mary to attend sermons, quizzing her on their contents, censored Mary's mail, and forbade her to keep Catholic company.[172] While Mary initially continued to 'keepe her heart for Popery…God (who in his owne time worketh in his owne meanes) began to worke in her first a staggering in her old way'.[173] And while her conversion process had its setbacks attributed to Satan, eventually 'it pleased God that she was wonne to beleeve the Truth, and renounce her former superstition & ignorance'.[174] One of her godly actions after her conversion was the conversion of others: 'as it is the property of a true Convert, being converted her selfe she endeavoured the conversion of others and was a

[170] Taylor, *The pilgrims profession*, pp. 123–124.
[171] Taylor, *The pilgrims profession*, pp. 126–127.
[172] Taylor, *The pilgrims profession*, pp. 127–134.
[173] Taylor, *The pilgrims profession*, pp. 124–125.
[174] Taylor, *The pilgrims profession*, pp. 136–137.

great helpe and furtherance to the Publique Ministry that way'.[175] Once her spiritual confidence had been found through God's grace, Mary exemplified several virtuous godly behaviours: she read the Bible in its entirety annually, consulted with the minister when she did not understand something in the Scriptures, prayed before reading so that she could ready a receptive heart to the word of God, committed parts of the Bible to memory because 'she knew not what dayes of tryall, or persecution might come wherein she might be deprived of her Bible', and she kept a strict regimen of daily prayers and services both publicly in the household and 'in secret'.[176] She also practised religious fasting, without which she refused to receive the Sacrament, believing that she could only receive it after prayer and reflection. She was also charitable and pitiful toward those less fortunate.

Humphrey also described his wife's godly death. She became ill six months before her death and took the time to prepare for it through prayer, asking her husband to encourage her prayer should Satan tempt her in her hours of vulnerability (he did, she overcame it), and in her last hours, despite great pain, uttered 'no word of impatience with her selfe, or discontent to any that were about her', suggesting Gunter maintained the calm, comfortable demeanour expected of a good death. She died praying to God with her hands and eyes raised to heaven, while she was surrounded by friends and family who bore witness to her godly death,.[177] The exemplarity of Christian virtues and election guided the narrative of Gunter's life, creating a memorial to herself, but also to God and His work. As a convert, her biography was imbued with further meaning as a providential monument to Protestantism.

These two funeral sermons commemorated God through the lives of Juxon and Gunter to inspire others. As monuments or memorials erected or 'set up', these texts

[175] Taylor, *The pilgrims profession*, p. 137.
[176] Taylor, *The pilgrims profession*, p. 157.
[177] Taylor, *The pilgrims profession*, p. 185.

reflect a blurring of the lines between textual and three-dimensional space. The implication is that such sermons were aural, textual *and* physical monuments. By the 1620s puritans were not only comfortable with the publication of the funeral sermon, but also with representing it in a similar form to the monuments their predecessors had railed against in the early years of Elizabeth's reign. It was a form that puritans were still less inclined to use than other members of the English Church despite increasing monument building in the 1620s; although notable exceptions such as the ostentatious monument to the puritan Sir Edward Lewkenor in Denham, Suffolk remind us that some puritans held no objections to grandiose monuments.[178] Nevertheless, the general lack of popularity of monuments among puritans supports the earlier supposition advanced in this chapter that text offered a less controversial space to participate in a commemorative culture, but demonstrates that despite contemporary commentary that expressed concerns regarding physical monuments, ultimately its language and concepts and functions inescapably informed monument building on the page. Understanding funeral sermons as physical monuments in print adds a further dimension to Arnold Hunt's argument that the performed sermon needs to be studied as an event.[179] The funeral sermon needs to be considered as a material object with a commemorative function as a monument.[180]

Architectural Print Monuments

The funeral sermon was an important element of textual monumentality, especially in print. But it was only one genre that made up the world of printed textual

[178] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, ch. 4; Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 246. On the Lewkenor monument, see Patrick Collinson, 'Magistracy and Ministry: A Suffolk Miniature', in *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983), pp. 444–466.
[179] Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 7.
[180] The sermons to Juxon and Gunter are not the only funeral sermons with explicitly monumental language. See also Richard Chambers, *Sarahs sepulture, or A funerall sermon preached for the Right Honourable and vertuous lady, Dorothie Countesse of Northumberland, at Petworth in Sussex...* (London, 1620); and Nicholas Guy, *Pieties pillar: or, A sermon preached at the funerall of mistresse Elizabeth*

commemoration. Ballads, broadsides, elegies and epitaphs made their way into print to commemorate people and events. Collections of elegiac verses and epitaphs were often published to commemorate prominent notables and events. Elegies and other literary forms commemorated Queen Elizabeth during her reign as a part of the cult of Gloriana centred around her birthday (17 September) and accession (17 November) celebrations, and for years after her death. For example, in 1587, Maurice Kyffin published a small pamphlet written entirely in verse entitled *The blessednes of Brytaine*.[181] The title referred to Elizabeth's reign as a providential blessing. It was commonly believed that Elizabeth had saved England from the perils of Catholicism and restored God's true church, Protestantism.[182] Kyffin's text was a 'joyfull Memoriall of her Majesties present entrance into the Thirtieth yeere of her most triumphant raigne'.[183] Just as the term 'monument' had multiple meanings in the early modern period, so too 'memorial' could refer to someone's remembrance, or memory. As an adjective, 'memorial' described what was worthy to be remembered. It was also used to refer to objects that preserved the memory of a person or thing, including events and monuments.[184] In 1630, an elegy commemorating Elizabeth entitled *A chaine of pearle, or a memoriall…* was published under the pseudonym Diana Primrose.[185] Matthew Haviland published *A Monument of God's most gracious preservation of England from the Spanish Invasion…* in 1635, a

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Gouge, late wife of Mr. William Gouge, of Black-friers, London With a true narration of her life and death. By Nicholas Guy, pastor of the church at Edge-ware in Middlesex (London, 1626).

[181] Maurice Kyffin*, The blessednes of Brytaine, or A celebration of the Queenes holyday conteining, a breefe rehersall, of the inestimable benefits, generally had & enioyed, not only all England ouer, but also in forrein partes, through the gracious bountie, and incomparable blessed rule of our royall Queene Elizabeth. Composed, and set foorth, in due reuerence, & ioyfull memoriall, of her Maiesties present entrance into the thirtieth yeere of her most triumphant raigne, with hartie prayer, for the long continuing, and prosperous preseruing of the same* (London: 1587).

[182] On Elizabeth's reign, its celebration, and its importance to Protestant social memory, see See David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells;* Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400–1700* (Oxford, 1994); and Walsham, *Providence*.

[183] Kyffin, *The blessednes of Brytaine*, title page.

[184] *OED Online,* s.v. 'memorial, adj. and n.', accessed 25 July 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/116351.

[185] Diana Primrose, *A chaine of pearle. or a memoriall of the peerles graces, and heroick vertues of Queene Elizabeth, of glorious memory…* (London, 1630).

one side broadsheet that commemorated the defeat of the Spanish Armada and the Gunpowder plot in verse 'to my posterity'.[186] During the civil wars, large illustrated broadside publications accompanied by verse commemorated 'Englands Miraculous Preservation Emblematically' as 'a perpetuall monument to Posterity' to support the Parliamentary cause.[187] This particular broadside depicts prominent royalists such as William Laud and John Cosin drowning at sea in tumultuous waves while an ark carrying the three estates – the House of Lords, the House of Commons, and the Assembly – floats placidly, unaffected by the choppy waters.[188] Commemorative broadsides in prose, verse, and image were increasingly printed in the early seventeenth century.

Commemorative print culture encompassed many printed forms. Often these printed commemorative texts married textual content with typographical form or images to convey meaning.[189] One particular phenomenon depicted in commemorative print culture was the use of the physical shape of architectural elements to create textual monuments on the page. I tentatively suggest this occurrence can be explained by three factors: the existing relationship between print and architecture, an increase in Protestant confidence in the acceptability of monuments as third or fourth generation believers in a well-established Church by the 1620s and 1630s, and perhaps more speculatively, the conceptualisation of textual space as an abstract space and thus suitable for the commemoration of the 'hotter sort'. The following section will examine three commemorative printed broadside monuments. It will contrast an elegy broadside from

[186] Matthew Haviland, *A monument of Gods most gracious preservation of England from Spanish invasion, August 2 1588. and Popish treason, November 5 1605* (London 1635).
[187] John Leicester, *Englands miraculous preservation emblematically described, erected for a perpetual monument to posterity* (London: 1646/7).
[188] Leicester, *Englands miraculous preservation*.
[189] Studies that have examined cheap print and its relationship with image include Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge, 1993); Alexandra Walsham, *Providence*; and Yip, 'Visual Elements of the Printed Funeral Sermon'. On popular print culture more broadly, see Joad Raymond, ed., *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford, 2011).

the 1580s with two from reign of Charles I to demonstrate how textual monuments not only used monumental language but appropriated the physical form of funeral monuments in text.

Abraham Fleming created more than one textual monument to William Lambe in 1580. In addition to the *Memoriall*, Fleming also wrote *An Epitaph, or funerall inscription, upon the godlie life and death of the right worshipfull Maister William Lambe*.[190] It is a broadside with an epitaph written in verse in two columns with the Lambe coat of arms and what may be Lambe's heraldic badge at the bottom. The first half of the poem articulates the temporality of earthly affairs and the vanity of believing that human actions and accomplishments will last forever. One verse reads 'nothing is perpetuall, which glansing eye doeth see/ But transitorie, frail and vaine, as time demandes his fee'.[191] Another suggests that 'Then sith celestial creatures state, so alterable is/ That vaine we count each eathlie thing, I judge it not amis'.[192] Fleming also reminded the reader of the transience of human civilisations with the verses 'How many Cities stately built, of timber, lime and stone/ Are come to naught and in their place, a desert left alone'.[193] This verse in particular stands out because of its similarity to Weever's justification for recording funeral monuments in textual form fifty years later. We recall that Weever argued that books were more durable as a site of memory 'for of all things else there is a vicissitude, a change both of cities and nations'.[194] Fleming

[190] Abraham Fleming, *An epitaph, or funerall inscription, upon the godlie life and death of the right worshipfull Maister William Lambe Esquire founder of the new conduit in Holborne, &c. Deceased the one and twentith of April, and intumbed in S. Faiths Church under Powles, the sixt of Maie next and immediatly following. Anno. 1580. Devised by Abraham Fleming* (London, 1580).
[191] Fleming, *An Epitaph*.
[192] Fleming, *An Epitaph*.
[193] Fleming, *An Epitaph*.
[194] Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments*, p. 3.

acknowledged the fragility of other sites of memory in his epitaph just as he acknowledged this fragility in his *Memoriall*.

The second column of the epitaph stresses the inevitability of death as a *memento mori* and articulates Lambe's Christian virtues of charity and generosity and asserts confidence in his salvation. The epitaph encourages the reader to meditate on 'this corps corrupt', referring to Lambe's body, because in viewing the dead the reader will 'what [they] shall be discearne'.[195] Until this point the epitaph has stressed the futility of earthly accomplishments and the inevitability of decay. However, the epitaph then focuses on Lambe's 'talent Christianly laide out, with Gods good will accordes'.[196] The epitaph repeatedly refers to Lambe's almsgiving and donations in kind in the form of food and cloth for the meaner sort. This benefaction 'as in th'Actes, Cornelius deedes, beare witnesse of his faith, (for outwarde workes before the world, beleefe within bewaith)'.[197] By giving charity, Lambe 'lent unto the Lorde'.[198] Again, Fleming repeated themes from the *Memoriall* in the epitaph by suggesting that Lambe's godly behaviour was God's providential favour for Lambe.

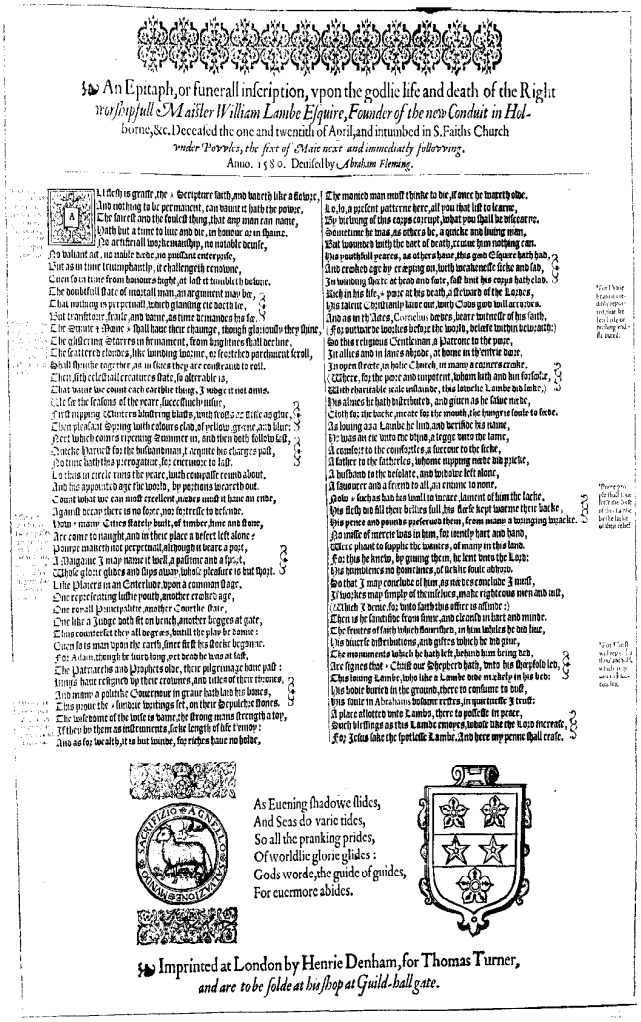
The end of the epitaph articulates confidence in Lambe's salvation. His charity meant that he was 'sactifide from sinne, and cleansed in hart and mind' and that while

> the monuments which he hath left, behind him being ded
> Are signes that Christ our Shepherd hath, unto his sheepfold led
> This loving Lambe, who like a Lambe dide meekely in his bed…
> His soule in Abramhams bosom restes, in quietnesse I trust,
> A place allotted unto Lambs, there to possess in peace,
> Such blessings as this Lambe enjoyes, whose like the Lord increase.[199]

[195] Fleming, *An Epitaph*.
[196] Fleming, *An Epitaph*.
[197] Fleming, *An Epitaph*.
[198] Fleming, *An Epitaph*.
[199] Fleming, *An Epitaph*.

These verses echo much of what Fleming articulated about Lambe in the *Memoriall.* The similarities do not end with thematic repetition of confidence in salvation and the extolling of Christian virtues. The epitaph also explicitly suggested that charitable acts were monuments and were actions of God. Therefore, Fleming's epitaph was also a monument to God.

Figure 3: Fleming's Epitaph for Lambe[200]



An Epitaph, or funerall inſcription, vpon the godlie life and death of the Right worſhipfull Maiſter William Lambe Eſquire, Founder of the new Conduit in Holborne, &c. Deceaſed the one and twentith of Aprill, and intumbed in S. Faiths Church vnder Powles, the ſext of Maie next and immediatly following. Anno. 1580. Deuiſed by Abraham Fleming.

Lthough in graſſe, the Scripture ſaith, and waxeth like a flowre,
And nothing to be permanent, can vaunte it hath the powre,
The ſtarreſt and the ſtaieſt thing, that any man can name,
Hath but a time to liue and die, in honour or in ſhame.
No artificiall workemanſhip, no notable deuiſe,
No valiant act, no noble deede, no puiſſant enterpriſe,
But as in time triumphantly, it challengeth renowme,
Euen ſo in time from honours height, at laſt it troubleth downe.
The doubtfull ſtate of mortall man, an argument may be,
That nothing is perpetuall, ſauing glauncing ere ſaith he,
Our tranſitorie, feaſie, and vaine, as time demandes his fee.
The Sunne's Noone ſhall haue their change, though glorious they ſhine,
The glittering Starres in firmament, from brightneſs ſhall decline,
The ſcattered clowdes, like wauering wooll, or ſtretched parchment ſcroll,
Shall thronge together, as in ſtaies they are conſtreined to roll.
Then, ſith celeſtiall creatures ſtate, ſo alterable is,
That vaine we count each earthlie thing, I wiſhe it not amis.
Ne ſo the ſeaſons of the yeare, ſucceſſiuely inſue,
Firſt nipping Winters bluſtering blaſts, with rotts are ſtille at vre,
Then pleaſant Spring with colours clad, of yellow greene, and blue:
Next which comes ripening Summer in, and then doth follow Fall,
Dutche Harueſt for the huſbandman, t acquite his charges pall,
No time hath this prerogatiue, for ouermuch to laſt.
Lo this in circle runs the yeare, with compaſſe round about.
And his appointed age the wooll, by peſtions incarued out.
Count what we can moſt excellent, maides muſt it haue an ende,
Againſt decay there is no ſtore, no fortreſſe to defende.
Vaine many Cities ſtately built, of timber, ſtone and ſtame,
Are come to naught, and in their place a deſert left alone:
Poore manerly not perpetuall, although it beare a poſt,
I daigaine I may name it well, a paſſime and a goſt,
Whoſe glorie glides and ſlips away, lyke pleaſure is but ſhot.
Like Players in an Enterlude, vpon a common ſtage,
One repreſenting luſtie youth, another crabbed age,
One eeuell Vſurer like, another Courtlie Dame,
One like a Iudge both ſit on bench, another beggers at gate,
Thus counterfet they all degrees, vntill the play be dunne:
Euen ſo is man vpon the earth, ſince firſt his date begonne.
For Adam, though he liued long, yet dead he was at laſt,
The Patriarches and Prophets alſo, their pilgrimage haue paſt:
Kings haue reigned by their crounes, and tates of their reuenes,
And manie a goldie Conqueror in graue hath laid his baines,
Thus proue the ſundrie writings ſet, on their Sepulchre ſtones.
The welcome of the welſe is vaine, the ſtrong mans ſtrength a toy,
If they by them as inſtruments, ſeeke length of life t'enioy:
And as for wealth, it is but winde, for riches haue no bride,
The married man muſt thinke to die, if euer he marry olde.
Lo, lo, a preſent patterne here, all you that liſt to learne,
By peruſing of this copie corrupt, what you ſhall be vnlearne,
Sometime he was, as others be, a quicke and louing man,
But wounded with the dart of death, ſtraine from nothing can.
His youthfull yeares, as others haue, this good Squire hath had,
And crooked age by creeping on, forth weakeneſſe ſicke and ſad,
In winning ſtaie at head and forte, fall hunt his corps hath clad.
Rich in his life, + poore at his death, a ſteward of the Lords,
His talent Chriſtianly laine out, with Gods gaue full accordes.
And as in th'Acts, Cornelius bedes, bearе witneſſe of his faith,
(So nurture he vouches ſafe the words, beſeke you in remembrith:)
So this religious Gentleman, a Patrone to the poore,
In allies and in lanes abyde, at home in th'entrie doore,
In open ſtreete, in holie Church, in manie a corners croke,
(Where, for the poore and impotent, whom hath and him forſoke,
With charitable zeale vnfaunde, this latneſſe Lambe his locke,)
His almes he hath diſtributed, and giuen as he ſaine mede,
Cloth for the backe, meate for the mouth, for hungrie foule to feede.
As louing as a Lambe he liue, and herriſke his name,
He was an eie vnto the blinde, a legge vnto the lame,
A comfort to the comfortles, a ſuccour to the ſicke,
A father to the fatherles, whome nipping neede did pricke,
A huſband to the deſolate, and widowe left alone,
A ſeruaunt and a friend to all, an enimie to none,
Gods + ſuchus has vnell to weare, lament of him the lacke,
His fleſhy pan fill their bellies full, his ſtarke kept naerne their backe,
His pence and pounds preſerued them, from manie a twinging wyacke.
No miſſe of mercie was in him, for needy hart and hand,
Were pliant to ſupplie the wantes, of manie in this land.
For this he knew, by giuing them, he lent vnto the Lord:
His humbleneſs no domeanes, of fleſhie foule abhord.
So that I may conclude of him, as not to conclude I muſt,
Thoſe may ſimply of the miſſe, make righteous men and iuſt,
(Which I deme for vnto faith this office is affinde:)
Then is he ſanctifide from ſinne, and cleanſd in hart and minde.
The fruites of faith which flouriſhed, in him inſides he did finde,
His diuerſe diſtributions, and gifts which he did giue,
The monuments which he hath left, behind him being dead,
Are ſignes that Chriſt our Shepherd hath, into his fold led,
This louing Lambe, who like a Lambe dide meekely in his bed:
His bodie buried in the ground, there to conſume to duſt,
His ſoule in Abrahams boſome reſtes, in quietneſſe I truſt:
A place allotted vnto Lambs, there to poſſeſſe in peace,
Such bleſſings as thus Lambe enioyes, whoſe like the Lord increaſe,
For Ieſus like the ſpotleſſe Lambe, And here my penne ſhall ceaſe.

As Euening ſhadowe ſlides,
And Seas do varie tides,
So all the pranking prides,
Of worldlie glorie glides:
Gods worde, the guide of guides,
For euermore abides.

Imprinted at London by Henrie Denham, for Thomas Turner, and are to be ſolde at his ſhop at Guild-hall gate.

The monumentality of Fleming's epitaph was also articulated in the text, albeit with more subtlety than the words 'monument' or 'memorial'. Fleming referred to his

[200] Abraham Fleming, *An epitaph, or funerall inscription, upon the godlie life and death of the right worshipfull Maister William Lambe Esquire…* (London, 1580). RB 18301, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Reproduced with permission of the Huntington Library. Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Image produced by ProQuest as a part of *Early English Books Online*. www.proquest.com.

epitaph as a 'funerall inscription'. In this case, the term 'inscription' in this case referred to 'that which is inscribed…a set of characters or words written, *engraved* or otherwise traced upon a surface; especially a legend, description or record traced upon *some hard substance for the sake of durability; as on a monument*, building, stone tablet, etc…'[201] Fleming's epitaph was essentially a monumental brass in paper form. The use of the epitaph form and the presence of heraldry mimic information and forms found in monumental brasses. In fact, we know from the *Memoriall* that Lambe had two epitaphs written in verse located near his burial site in the church.[202]

A search for the terms 'monument' and 'memorial' in the title of texts in the *EEBO* database shows that monumental language was used sparingly in the sixteenth century but increased in use between 1610 and 1650. This coincided with the increase in the building of funeral monuments observed by Nigel Llewellyn.[203] Llewellyn's survey of funeral monuments shows that the number of funeral monuments increased by a third between the 1600s and the 1610s, an increase that held steady through the 1620s and 1630s, when over 400 surviving monuments were built per decade, before dropping drastically during the 1640s due to the civil wars.[204] Other scholars have noted how funeral monuments and printed images, particularly frontispieces, borrowed from each other stylistically.[205] For example, triumphal arches emerged as a popular architectural motif in funeral monuments.[206] Peter Sherlock noted that a cartouche printed in the Netherlands in the 1550s was replicated by the monument of Sir Maurice Berkeley located in Bruton, Somerset thirty years later, and how Sir John Wray's monument in St.

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[201] *OED Online,* s.v. 'inscription, n.', accessed 30 November 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/96655. Italics are my emphasis.
[202] Fleming, *A Memoriall*, fols. C1v–C3r.
[203] Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 10.
[204] Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments,* p. 10.
[205] Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, chap. 7; Sherlock appreciates the relationship between the word and image but focuses on the relationship of form between text and funeral monuments as opposed to the relationship in function.
[206] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory,* ch. 5.

Ives, Cornwall at the end of the sixteenth century also copied an earlier printed image.[207] Early modern English culture embraced replication and copying. It was also a culture that was creatively utilitarian, using different forms, genres, and conventions available at the fingertips of writers, compilers, artists and other creators to construct texts and art. As monument building increased, the visibility of monumental forms grew in parish churches across the country. Given the reciprocal relationship between print, architecture, and art, perhaps it is not surprising that commemorative broadsides too became more monumental in their form.

The leading experts on physical funeral monuments, Nigel Llewellyn and Peter Sherlock, attribute this growth to an increased confidence in the acceptability of monuments by the seventeenth century. Sherlock dated the watershed in this confidence in commemoration to the 1580s when monument building returned to pre-Reformation levels, arguing that 'monuments resumed their place within a sacred economy, albeit a new one. In the 1580s, tombs began to speak of memory as a sacred duty. The idea of remembering as a holy activity in and of itself was an early strategy for altering intercessory petitions'.[208] Llewellyn also suggested that this recovery represented a general stability regarding the status of images in the English church from the 1580s until the outbreak of civil war.[209] A 'Calvinist consensus' and the collapse of the organised presbyterian movement twenty to thirty years before had led to a relative stability in the Church of England on matters adiaphoric, liturgical, and doctrinal, although points of contention such as James I's Declaration of Sports (1618), which offended those Protestants with strong Sabbatarian sensibilities, brought the Crown into conflict with the hottest sort. The increasing use of print for funeral sermons by the 1620s may well have further signalled to would-be textual monumentors that print and

[207] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, ch. 5.
[208] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory,* ch. 4.
[209] Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments,* p. 7. Admittedly one must read somewhat between the lines in Llewellyn's study; its socio-political explanations of change overtime are at times underdeveloped.

monumentality were very good bedfellows. This phenomenon was not only reflective of an increasing confidence in monumentality in the early seventeenth century, it also resulted in some surprising textual developments. The use of monumental language and related terms such as 'column', 'pillar', 'sepulchre' or 'inscription' blurred the boundaries between textual and physical spaces. By the late 1620s and 1630s, some forms of textual commemoration erased the boundaries between physical and textual monuments completely by taking on form of physical monuments on the page.

Several early seventeenth-century funeral elegies used monumental language. In 1613, John Webster published *A Monumental Columne*, an elegy written to memorialise Prince Henry Stuart, Prince of Wales after his death from typhoid that year.[210] Webster, a poet and playwright best known for writing *The Duchess of Malfi*, wrote the elegy in verse laden with references to classical antiquity and literature, history – he likened Henry to his Plantagenet predecessor Edward, The Black Prince – and the Bible. While there is some reference to a good death, the primary purpose of the elegy, as a classical literary form, was to lament the Prince's death, and to celebrate his fame.[211] *The Honour of vertue, Or the monument erected by the sorowful husband*, published in 1620, memorialised Elizabeth Crashawe, the second wife of the puritan minister and religious controversialist William Crashawe. This monument was written 'To the Honour of Jesus

[210] John Webster, *A monumental columne, erected to the living memory of the ever-glorious Henry, late Prince of Wales…* (London, 1613).
[211] This text also appeared in a separate publication of three collections of elegies written to commemorate the prince's death with contributions by Thomas Heywood and Cyril Tourneur. Thomas Heywood, Cyril Tourneur and John Webster, *Three elegies on the most lamented death of Prince Henrie…* (London, 1613).

Christ, To the Praise of Piety, To the example of Posterity, and for the Preservation of the Godly memorie of Elizabeth'.[212]

As with Fleming's memorial to Lambe, these elegies commemorate God through the memorialization of Crashawe's piety and exemplarity. This text is primarily an anthology of epitaphs and elegies to Elizabeth's memory. Unlike Webster's tribute to the Prince of Wales, the epitaphs to Elizabeth are primarily written by clergymen so the emphasis on her godly death, her assurance, and her resurrection feature more prominently within the document. This publication also contains a summary of the sermon given by Dr. James Ussher, who would be named the Archbishop of Armagh in 1625. Ussher preached on the verse 1 Samuel 4:20,[213] and while he was generally 'wary, and moderate in commendation' on this occasion, which had 'one of the greatest Assemblies that ever was seen in mans memorie at the burial of any private person', Ussher spoke of her virtues of piety, charity, devotion, modesty, sobriety, and housewifery.[214] This text is distinctively monumental, as is evident in its explicit title and summary record of the sermon, and in the publication of several epitaphs. Epitaphs were often a distinctive part of the textual tradition of the physical funeral monument. An increase in length to fulfil their didactic purpose was one change observed by Peter Sherlock in post-Reformation funeral monuments.[215]

This literary form had its origins in classical models of commemoration and pagan funerary practices. We noted in chapter one that the antiquity of the epitaph was one part of William Camden's defence of monuments in his *Remaines.* Camden traced

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[212] Anon., *The honour of vertue. Or the monument erected by the sorowfull husband, and the epitaphes annexed by learned and worthy men, to the immortall memory of that worthy gentle-woman Mrs Elizabeth Crashawe…* (London, 1620), fol. A2r.
[213] 'And about the time of her death the women that stood by her said unto her, Fear not; for thou hast born a son. But she answered not, neither did she regard it', 1 Samuel 4:20, King James Version.
[214] Anon., *The Honour of Vertue*, fols. A3v–A4r.
[215] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory,* ch. 4.

the origins of the epitaph to 'the presage or for feeling of immortality implanted in all men naturally' but cited classical examples such as the singing of lamentations at the burial of the musician and father of lyric song, Linus, which were called *epitaphia* 'for that they were first song at Burialles, after engraved upon the sepulchers'.[216] The philosopher Plato established the practice of the four-verse epitaph, and the ancient Greeks favoured elegiac verse before prose.[217] The epitaph was often written in elegiac verse, and the elegy and other lamentation literary traditions were widespread in Homeric literature, and well established in Greek theatre between 600 and 400 BCE.[218] There are scriptural precedents as well in the Old Testament, such as Daniel's lamentation of the death of King Saul and his son Jonathan in 2 Samuel 1:17–27.[219] The Renaissance and the spread of humanist interest in classical antiquity revived interest in Renaissance motifs and practices in funerary monuments, and led to more rhetorically ornate and more physically durable and prominent epitaphs on physical monuments.[220] The scriptural precedents for elegy also popularised the literary form. The staunch defender of monuments, John Weever criticised the adornment of funeral monuments with pagan 'pictures of naked men and women; raising out of the dust, and bringing into the Church, the memories of heathen gods and goddesses, with all their whirligigs'.[221] His *Funerall Monuments* was, however, essentially a catalogue of epitaphs and elegy.

In 1626, George Donne published a one-page broadside elegy to commemorate the death of his friend Richard Stocke, the conforming puritan 'pastour' of All-Hallows

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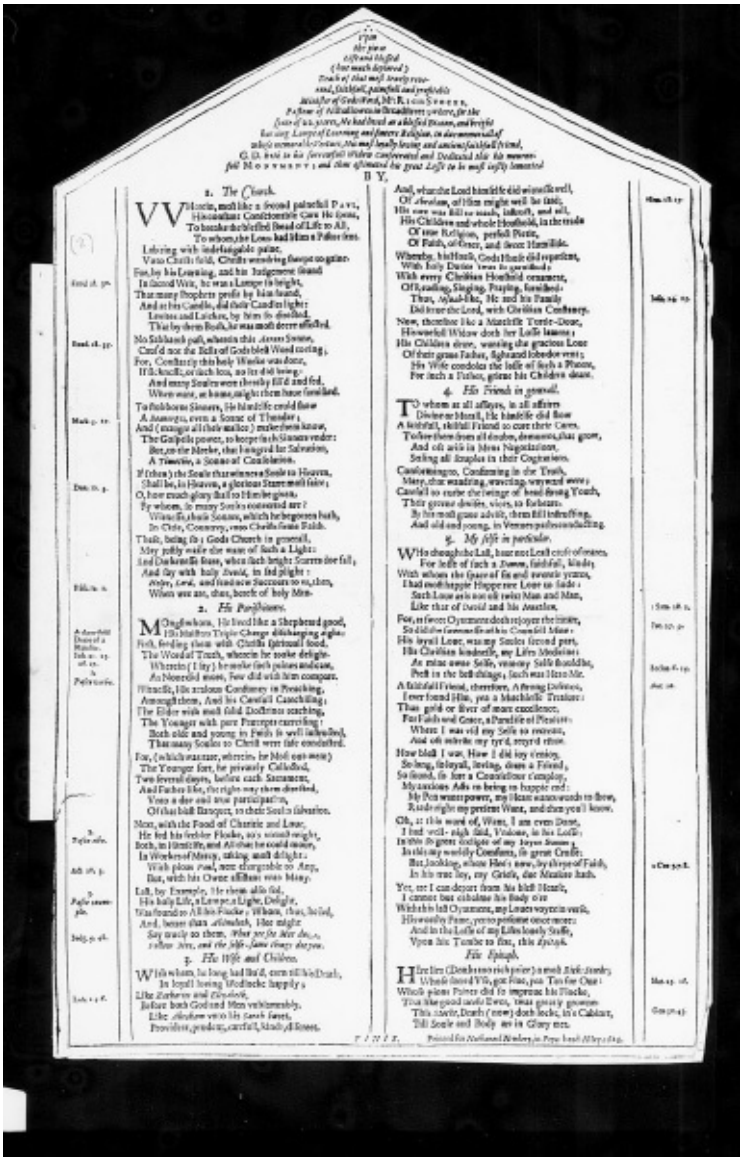
[216] William Camden, *Remaines of a greater worke, concerning Britaine, the inhabitants thereof, their languages, names, surnames, empreses, wise speeches, poësies, and epitaphes* (London, 1605), p. 28.
[217] Camden, *Remaines*, p. 28.
[218] Gregory Nagy, 'Ancient Greek Elegy', in *the Oxford Handbook of Elegy,* ed. Karen Weisman (Oxford, 2010), p. 32.
[219] Edward L. Greenstein, 'Lamentation and Lament in the Hebrew Bible', in *The Oxford Handbook of Elegy,* ed. Karen Wiesman (Oxford, 2010), p. 68.
[220] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, ch. 5. On epitaphs and monumentality, see Claire Bryony Williams, 'Manuscript, Monument, and Memory: The Circulation of Epitaphs in the 17th Century', Literature Compass 11 (2014), pp. 573–582.
[221] See Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 250. See Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments,* p. 11.

in Breadstreet in London.[222] In elegiac verse, Donne wrote about Stock's commitment to the Church and his parishioners, his family, his friends, and finally the dear friendship shared between the two men and reproduced his epitaph. Like all the other textual monuments surveyed here, the elegy stresses his Christian virtues, his good husbandry, and his salvation – 'If (then) the Soule that winnes a Soule to Heaven, shall be, in Heaven, a glorious Starre most faire'.[223] But what is most striking about Donne's 'mournefull monument' to his friend is the form of the text itself.

As Figure 4 shows, the text is composed emblematically in the shape of a monumental obelisk and the paper has been cut to form the obelisk shape as well. Henry Petowe's elegiac text to mark the death of one John Bancks [sic], a citizen and mercer of London, functions in a very similar manner.[224] It too, is an elegy written in verse commending Banckes's virtues of charity – he made a sizable donation to the London artillery – as well as his fame, 'Humility, Religion, Judgment, [and] Wisedome'. His salvation was also alluded to in the poem, evident in the verses 'Poor Mens Prayes Which halfe the way to Heaven, made him Stayres' and 'Inter'd with Fame, his Soule to Heaven fled'. This one-page broadside also took on an architectural and monumental form, as seen in Figure 5. Here the text has also been printed to take on a monumental form, that of a tombstone.

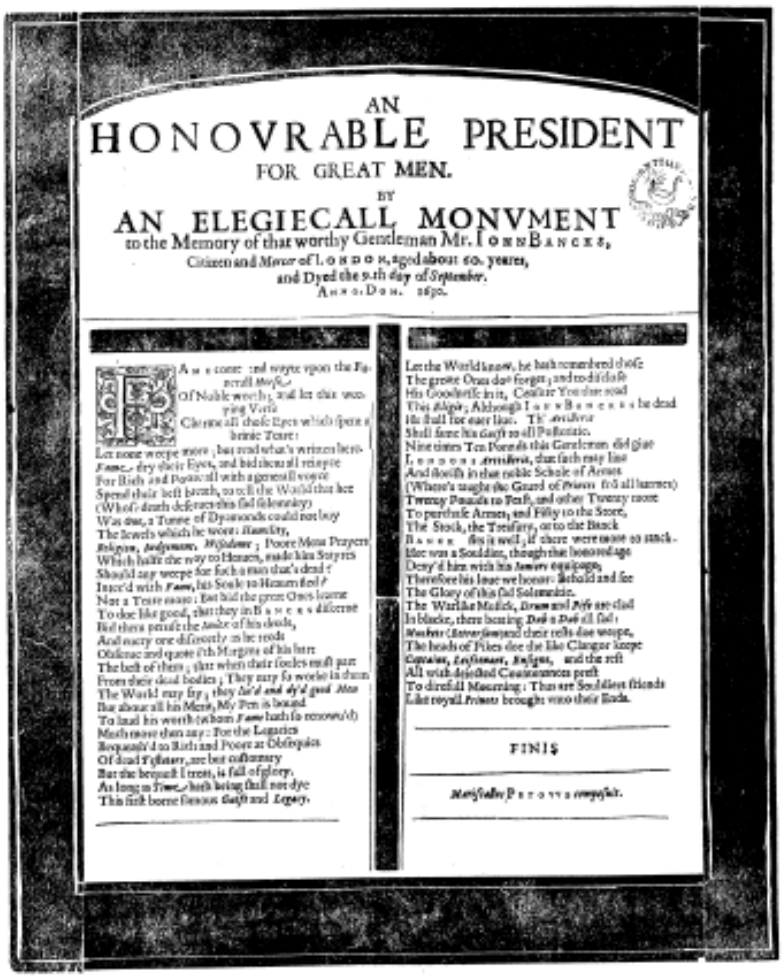
[222] George Donne, *Upon the pious life and blessed (but much deplored) death of that most truely reverend, faithfull, painefull and profitable minister of Gods words, Mr: Rich: Stocke, pastour of Allhallowes in Breadstreet…* (London, 1626).
[223] Donne, *Upon the pious life*.
[224] Henry Petowe, *An honorable president for great men by an elegiecall monument to the memory of that worthy gentleman Mr. John Bancks, citizen and mercer of London…* (London, 1630).

Figure 4: Donne's 'Mournefull Monument'[225]



[225] George Donne, *Upon the pious life and blessed (but much deplored) death of that most truely reverend, faithfull, painefull and profitable minister of Gods words, Mr: Rich: Stocke, pastour of Allhallowes in Breadstreet...*London, 1626. Reproduced with kind permission of the Provost and Fellows of Queen's College, Oxford. Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Image produced by ProQuest as a part of Early English Books Online. www.proquest.com.

Figure 5: Petowe's 'Elegiecall Monument'[226]



AN
HONOVRABLE PRESIDENT
FOR GREAT MEN.
BY
AN ELEGIECALL MONVMENT
to the Memory of that worthy Gentleman Mr. IOHN BANCKS,
Citizen and Mercer of LONDON, aged about 60. yeares,
and Dyed the 9.th day of September.
ANNO. DOM. 1630.

FINIS

[226] Henry Petowe, *An honorable president for great men by an elegiecall monument to the memory of that worthy gentleman Mr. John Bancks, citizen and mercer of London…* (London, 1630). Reproduced with kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries. Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Image produced by ProQuest as a part of *Early English Books Online*. www.proquest.com.

What these two texts suggest is a complete blurring of the lines between textual and the physical space to create a textual monument that was 'monumenting' not only in its intentions, but also in its form. My earlier suggestion that this increase in the explicit textual articulation of monumentality was likely inspired by the increase in monument building is tentative. However, the translation of the physicality of the funeral monument onto the page, in elegiac verse, suggests there is strength to this argument. Scholars of the elegy and the funeral sermon have connected these texts to funeral monuments. Lorna Clymer wrote that the early modern elegy was comparable with 'other sepulchral verbal genres that are close in time or space to the funeral or corpse, such as the funeral sermon or the epitaph, and with cultural expression in three dimensions, such as the funeral monument'.[227] Hannah Yip's examination of the funeral sermon entitled *Death and the Grave* (1649) by Thomas Dugard, preached at the death of Lady Alice Lucy, noted 'various allusions to the funeral monument, from the verbal description of the actual funeral monument of Sir Thomas and Lady Alice , to the distinctive typographical designs of the first and final pages of the printed text'.[228] These typographical designs included the reproduction of the form of the epitaphs on the printed page and the triumphal arch or canopy on the title page.[229] Informed by an increasingly architecturally commemorative world in their churches and public spaces, Protestants replicated physical monuments on the page, effectively translating them into physical monuments. Shedding their earlier ambivalence about commemoration, Protestants embraced monuments in physical and textual form across the religious spectrum by the 1620s and 1630s.

Perhaps this development is explained by trends in puritan funeral monuments. Peter Sherlock suggested that while some puritans rejected monuments and

[227] Clymer, 'The Funeral Elegy in early modern England', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Elegy*, ed. Karen Weisman (Oxford, 2010), p. 171.
[228] Yip, 'Visual Elements of the Early Modern Funeral Sermon', p. 169.
[229] Yip, 'Visual Elements of the Early Modern Funeral Sermon', p. 169–170.

commemoration all together, some built 'monuments that made no use of effigies or other imagery, beyond architectural forms and identifying symbols such as heraldic shields or merchant's mark'.[230] In other words, puritans favoured abstract rather than realist commemorative representation. The minister commemorated by Donne's broadside, Richard Stocke, was a conformist clergyman with puritan leanings; he was one of the original feoffees of impropriations which raised and administered funds that allowed puritan ministers to purchase impropriations and advowsons, or clerical benefices, to ensure puritan representation.[231] Stocke's funeral sermon was also preached by the notable puritan minister Thomas Gataker in 1626.[232] The form of Stocke's monument in Donne's broadside is architectural and occupies an abstract physical space rather than the concrete physical space of the church. A similar argument could be made for the architectural language used to describe the funeral sermons for Elizabeth Juxon and Mary Gunter. But one should not overstate the case: The monument to John Banckes was written by the poet, scrivener, and member of the Clothworkers' Company Henry Petowe, who had previously written poetry commemorating the foundation of the Artillery Garden London armoury, and was commissioned by the Barber-Surgeons' company to compose Banckes's elegies.[233] The Banckes monument suggests another possibility for the increase in monuments both physical and

[230] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, ch. 4.
[231] Julian Davies, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism, 1625–1641* (Oxford, 1992), p. 79.
[232] Brett Usher, 'Stock, Richard (1568/9–1626), Church of England Clergyman', *ODNB,* accessed 7 February 2019, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-26540.
[233] B.J. Sokol, 'Petowe, Henry (1575/6–1636?), Poet', *ODNB*, accessed 7 February 2019, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22044

typographical: more people had the financial means to commission them in the late Elizabethan period and the early seventeenth century.[234]

Printed textual monuments from the 1580s to the 1630s shared some continuities across genres and forms over time but there were some marked changes as well. Constant from the 1580s to the 1620s was the importance of Christian and civil virtues, and of the responsibilities demarcated by gender and rank. Evidence for and the confirmation of the salvation of the deceased was a persistent Protestant focus in commemorative culture. Monuments displayed the virtues of the deceased and expressed their assurance of salvation to edify the living and to commemorate the memory of the deceased. Commemoration of virtues was also a commemoration of God's providence and His greatness. The godly were agents of God, and their virtues were made evident by their divinely inspired good deeds and actions. This was part of a broader cultural commemorative return to a biblical, and in particular Old Testament understanding of the function of monuments, which coincided with Protestantism's emphasis on scriptural authority. As religion returned to the scriptures, so too did remembrance.

One key change over this half-century of textual commemorative culture was the convergence between physical and textual space to the point that the printed page took on the very form, as well as function, of the physical funeral monument. These shared forms and functions are emblematic of the circular culture of replication, adaptation, and dynamism that defined English textual culture. Printed textual monuments emerged in a textual culture that increasingly used print and recognised the press's advantages such as wider circulation, increased accessibility, and potentially, greater durability. Typographical monuments expanded in use in parallel to the expansion of physical monument building in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, suggesting that while anxieties regarding imagery and idolatry persisted, in general there was a greater

[234] Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 10.

confidence in the English Church's acceptance of physical monuments. These textual monuments were complementary to other memorial strategies like physical monuments. In some instances they may have replaced them, in others they operated alongside the building of physical monuments and other commemorative strategies. In other instances, text may have offered a less controversial space to create Protestant monuments, and in others greater fiscal access to monumentality offered by greater incomes and cheaper forms of commemoration in paper form meant that more and more people were remembered for posterity. The diversification of commemorative strategies and the dynamic interplay between various forms of commemoration is a reminder that interdisciplinarity is necessary if scholars are to study memory and commemoration in early modern England holistically and comprehensively.

Conclusion

The English Reformation did not extinguish the desire to remember and commemorate, but it adapted existing commemorative strategies to fit Protestant doctrine and needs and emphasised different forms, narratives, and preoccupations in early modern memory. Protestant commemorative culture inherited the medieval world's interest in virtues and ideals, but the 'identity scripts'[235] that shaped those virtues and ideals changed with the Reformation. The abandonment of the doctrine of purgatory led to a reinterpretation of the meaning of monuments, which changed from sites of intercession to sites of edification of the living. Edification led to the development of the most definitively Protestant shift in commemorative culture, in physical monuments, manuscript and print, that is, the centrality of providence and evidence of election in commemorative texts. The belief in predestination and emphasis on providence revised the identity scripts used by Protestants to construct their religious identity. This resulted in a shift in the content of textual funeral monuments to record marks of election such as virtues and good

[235] Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, ch. 1.

deaths to demonstrate one's piety. However, the change in scripts and preoccupations created problems for those who were commemorating ancestors, especially those from the pre-Reformation past who were practising Catholics. Reinterpretation, equivocation, and omission were often deployed to make relatives 'fit' the expected models to be worthy of commemoration.

Providence and the predestinarian emphasis on salvation imbued texts with religious meaning. Evidence of providence also offered the opportunity to foster a personal, reflective relationship with God through the examination of one's life, and increasingly, through the lives of others. This also explains the expansion of print commemoration, as early modern people both clerical and lay saw print as an opportunity to reach more people, in an increasing number of forms and genres from funeral sermons to elegiac broadsides. More broadly, the theological shift of the English Church also inspired a renaissance of a biblical 'monumenting' of God and His glory alongside the commemoration of an individual. This suited the Protestant emphasis on scriptural authority, and perhaps alleviated some concerns regarding idolatry and worship of the dead by returning to the scriptures and by commemorating the only power worthy of memory: God.

This return to the scriptures, emphasis on personal cultivation of faith, and the Protestant emphasis on the Word, coupled with expanding literacy, and the growing affordability of texts through print meant that texts offered new mnemonic opportunities. Monumental paratexts in vernacular family bibles, texts which became widely owned in the early modern period, memorialised families and God in their pages, and encouraged the transmission of memory from one generation to another as an heirloom, echoing the use of the Book of Hours in the preceding centuries. The funeral sermon emerged as a distinctly Protestant site of memory that expounded doctrine, edified the living, and commemorated God. Print allowed clergy to amplify their efforts. Textual monuments

offered a space for commemoration that occupied a liminal space between the physical and the textual, which offered people the opportunity to use the forms, styles, and language of the larger visual, architectural world around them to erect monuments on the page. This was emblematic of an increasing confidence in commemoration, but perhaps this confidence was also driven in part by a diversification of commemorative culture that allowed for abstract and less controversial monuments on the page. Peter Sherlock suggested that 'Images inevitably remained part of monumental culture, even where words themselves became the primary image'.[236] In the light of this chapter's explorations, perhaps we need to paraphrase this and suggest that words themselves became the primary monument.

Religion was just one possible 'script' on which early modern people relied to create and give meaning to their monuments, and it was just one facet of identity. In his advice to his heir, John Ramsey also directed his son to be 'Pater Patris & to benefit the Commonwealth'.[237] Being a man, specifically a patriarch, was an important and potent identity script on which early modern men relied to commemorate themselves and their families. The relationship between masculinity and monumenting is the subject to which we now turn.

[236] Sherlock, *Monuments and memory,* ch. 7.
[237] Bodl. MS Douce, 280, fol. 93r.

Chapter 3: Monuments and Masculinity

This chapter will explore how men constructed textual monuments to themselves and their families, particularly in manuscript commemorative forms such as memoirs, 'diaries', remembrance books, and entries written on bible endpages. This consideration is important because studies of memory have underappreciated how gendered identity scripts and expectations shaped commemorative culture. This is especially pertinent to the examination of textual monuments because writing and its circulation were often coded as masculine activities in the early modern period, which has implications for how historians appreciate early modern memory. This chapter will argue that textual monuments not only conserve, reiterate, and represent 'meanings of manhood', but also that writing commemoratively was a fundamental act of being a man in post-Reformation England. A section on the characteristics ascribed to masculinity, and how it created 'scripts' for the creation of monuments, will be followed by a discussion of how masculinity dictated when men created textual monuments. This chapter will then interrogate how patriarchal ideals and virtues determined what was commemorated and how family monuments became sites where men articulated and defended their masculinities. It will then explore how writing was a masculine act itself before contrasting men's life-writing with textual monuments created by elite women such as Anne Clifford and Lady Mary Honywood. This contrast will show how women who engaged with textual monumentality and commemoration did so when they were forced to enter this masculine sphere when there was a lack of patriarchal figures to undertake commemorative writing, or to perform filial duty. Women also wrote commemoratively when issues such as reputation, inheritance, and disputes motivated them to 'set the record straight'.

This study adheres to the terminological arguments outlined by Alexandra Shepard in her seminal examination of manhood in early modern England. Shepard

favoured the term 'manhood' over 'masculinity' in her study, and argued for the separation of the concept of patriarchy – the series of power structures in society that privilege men – and manhood,or the series of roles and 'governing archetypes of male behaviour'.[1] She reasoned that this separation better accounts for the differences between men and their access to, and control of, the patriarchal system. In early modern England, 'patriarchy' literally referred to the governance of fathers over the microcosmic commonwealth that was the home. While early modern social commentary in conduct literature presented paternal patriarchy as the definition of manhood in early modern England, several modes of alternative manhood existed with a great degree of dynamism and fluidity. The natural life cycle and the hegemony of the mature male householder over dependent youths and elderly men was one source of hierarchy among men; others were rank and status. Over the course of the seventeenth century, 'hegemonic masculinity' – the masculinity of men of power – contracted and increasingly pushed men unable or unwilling to become householding patriarchs into spheres of alternative masculinity.[2] This study will use Shepard's definitions in the discussion of manhood, and will use terms such as 'governing masculinity', 'patriarchal', or 'hegemonic masculinity' interchangeably to refer to normative, mature, householding men.

Masculinity, Monuments, and Modern Historians

In the last forty years, historians have become increasingly interested in the study of gender in early modern Europe. In addition to work on the 'meanings of manhood' and the complex, contingent, and contextual dynamism of masculinity, historians of early modern masculinity have been deeply interested in exploring the masculine body, its representation, and self-mastery; fatherhood; commensality; and politics.[3] Scholars have also produced monographs and anthologies dedicated to the

[1] Alexandra Shephard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 1–17; see also Henry French and Mark Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, c.1660–c.1900* (Oxford, 2012), p. 10.
[2] Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*.
[3] Tim Reinke-William, 'Manhood and Masculinity in Early Modern England', *History Compass 12* (2014), pp. 685–693.

investigation of the relationship between masculinity and the Reformation and to the exploration of elite or 'governing' masculinities.[4]

The relationship between memory and masculinity, however, has been largely understudied. Two articles written by the art historian Peter Sherlock on military funeral monuments, and sections of Andy Wood's consideration of parochial perambulation in his study of popular memory examine the relationship between manhood and memory.[5] Daniel Woolf has argued for the importance of 'auncient men', whose age and longstanding reputations in communities lent legitimacy to their memories.[6] A historical approach sensitive to gender has often viewed family history, and in particular genealogy, as the purview of feminine culture. Daniel Woolf has asserted that births, family, deaths, and other 'domestic themes' feature prominently when women created and 'spread stories about the past' whereas men focused on 'great deeds, chivalric and military settings'.[7] Genealogy was of particular interest to women, and Woolf suggested that many men seem to have relied on female family members to remember details about family history.[8] While

[4] On the relationship between masculinity and the impact of Reformation see for example Scott H. Hendrix and Susan Karant-Nunn, eds., *Masculinity in the Reformation Era* (Kirksville, MO, 2008); J. Thibodeaux, ed., *Negotiating Clerical Identities: Priests, Monks and Masculinity in the Middle Ages* (London, 2010); and Patricia H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis, eds., *Holiness and Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (Cardiff, 2004). On elite masculinities see Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent, eds., *Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period: Regulating Selves and Others* (Farnham, 2011), and Henry French and Mark Rothery, *Man's Estate.*

[5] Peter Sherlock, 'Patriarchal Memory: Monuments in Early Modern England', in *Practices of Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Megan Cassidy-Welch and Peter Sherlock (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 279–300; Peter Sherlock, 'Militant Masculinity and the Monuments of Westminster Abbey', in *Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period: Regulating Selves and Others,* eds. Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent (Farnham, 2011), pp. 131–153; and Andy Wood, *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 225–236, 305–7. See also Steve Hindle, 'Beating the Bounds of the Parish: Order, Memory and Identity in the English Local Community, c.1500–1700', in *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe,* eds. Michael Halvorson and Karen Spierling (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 205–28.

[6] Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture, 1500–1700* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 276–280.

[7] Woolf, *Social Circulation of the Past*, p. 306. See also, Daniel Woolf, 'A Feminine Past? Gender, Genre and Historical Knowledge in England, 1500–1800', *The American Historical Review* 102 (1997), pp. 645–679.

[8] Woolf, *Social Circulation of the Past*, pp. 114–121. See also Judith Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Oxford, 2017), p. 23.

the prevalence of women in family history should not be understated, the sheer mass of historical culture written by men in the early modern period that records and privileges this 'domestic' literature suggests that greater consideration of how men used and represented family histories is needed.

Ideals of Masculinity and Memory Scripts

Masculinity is pertinent to the study of memory and commemoration because much of the 'personal' commemorative culture of early modern Europe was 'used to show how someone had "performed" his life in accordance with cultural "scripts" that were used to given meaning to personal experiences and made them easier and more useful to share'.[9] Early modern Europe was a hierarchical society with prescribed characteristics attributed to rank, status, gender, age, and other factors. These structures created limitations for the selection of identity, although one could make several choices within their confines.

The definition of these scripts was contingent on time, place, and context within early modern England. For the purposes of this chapter, given its predominant focus on elite or governing men, a brief sketch of the values and ideals that broadly defined 'governing masculinity' will suffice. A governing male was economically independent and could maintain a household. This meant that he was ideally married with (preferably male) children to keep family property and wealth within the family. In regard to age, men were considered at their prime between their late twenties and their early 40s, being neither at risk of the hotness of youth and its associated lack of discipline nor of the coldness of old age.[10] Fully mature men were required to be in control of their bodies, emotions, and minds; one needed to be able to control one's self if one was expected to govern others.[11] A man was obligated to govern his wife – especially since women were considered to be naturally unruly – and his children, as well as any servants or apprentices in the household. Comtemporary thought at the

[9] Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe*, p. 20.
[10] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood,* p. 54.
[11] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p. 30.

time described the household as a little commonwealth or microcosm of the world. In this comparison, the legitimation of men's public engagement was implied, and mature men were expected to engage in local or national governance as churchwardens, justices of the peace, aldermen, mayors, and members of parliament.[12] After the Reformation men were also responsible for the spiritual well-being and religious education of their households. Protestantism in particular reinforced patriarchy by placing the Christian family at the heart of the Church. Fathers were now required to fulfil roles previously performed by monks or priests through greater involvement in local and religious regulation of community behaviour.[13]

The virtues of masculinity included the cardinal virtues of temperance, fortitude, justice, and prudence, as well as Renaissance civic virtues such as duty, fidelity, merit, and civic engagement. Gentlemen were also expected to be generous in their hospitality and charity to their social inferiors, and to maintain the port and countenance of their rank through dress, activities, and household furnishings. The role of lineage in the establishment of nobility was also important for the establishment of their status and masculinity, although the importance of this somewhat diminished over the course of the seventeenth century.[14] The receipt of the freedom of the city and free membership of the guilds marked the entrance into mature masculinity for the upper middling sort – particularly for tradesmen and merchants – in addition to the maintenance of a household. Tradesmen shared with

[12] See Richard Cust, 'The "Public Man" in Late Tudor and Early Stuart England', in *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England,* eds. Peter Lake and Steven Pincus (Manchester, 2007), pp. 116–143; Mark Goldie, 'The Unacknowledged Republic: Officeholding in Early Modern England', in The Politics of the Excluded, c.1500–1850, edited by Tim Harris (Basingstoke, 2001), pp. 153–194.
[13] On the religious expectations and responsibilities of men see Scott H. Hendrix, 'Masculinity and Patriarchy in Reformation Germany', in *Masculinity in the Reformation Era*, eds. Scott H. Hendrix and Susan Karant-Nunn (Kirksville, MO, 2008), pp. 71–91. The removal of female monasticism by the Reformation also buttressed a Protestant patriarchy, since convents traditionally offered women a legitimate and sometimes empowering alternative to marriage and motherhood and normalised singlehood.
[14] Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500–1700* (Stanford, 1994).

the gentry the claim to mature adult manhood through the maintenance of a household as providers both fiscal and spiritual, and the requirement of public engagement. However, the consumerism and competitive expenditure often associated with the landed elites was often ridiculed and eschewed by the middling sort, who stressed their respectability through honest work and frugality.[15] The distinction between these two social ranks, however, should be seen as a matter of degrees; many of the middling sort bought former monastic lands and became members of the gentry and the younger sons of gentlemen, placed in more precarious economic circumstances by primogeniture, often became skilled tradesmen and professionals. These various roles, responsibilities, virtues, and values defined the scripts by which early modern men constructed themselves, and they had a profound effect on commemorative culture.

Commemoration and the Life Cycle

The criteria for mature masculinity heavily dictated the construction of textual monuments. Many men began writing their texts when they were considered mature men and continued to write throughout their lifetimes. For example, the Norfolk gentleman Richard Wilton began to compile his book of 'particular remembrances' – a miscellany of receipts, recipes, family memorials, and memoranda – in 1584, the year his elder brother Nicholas died a bachelor without issue and the Wilton family holdings of Topcroft and Stratton passed to Richard. Wilton was approximately twenty-three years old when he inherited his family property as a bachelor, which made him somewhat young to be considered a mature man by age. However, his position as the family patriarch gave him the authority and confidence to begin writing his book.[16] The gentleman John Ramsey began writing in his remembrance book in 1596 at the age of eighteen, but did not begin recording autobiographical

[15] See Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks, eds., *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550–1800* (Basingstoke, 1994) and Mark Hailwood, '"The Honest Tradesman's Honour": Occupational and Social Identity in Seventeenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 24 (2014), pp. 79–103.
[16] CUL Buxton Papers 96/15.

information in his miscellany until 1606 when he was admitted to the Middle Temple at the age of twenty-eight, after Ramsey lost his father and became an independent gentleman in 1605.[17]

Similarly, the gentleman Peter Leycester of Tabley, Cheshire began compiling his 'chronicle' of the Leycester family from the reign of Henry III to 1647, following the death of his father and his accession as the patriarch of his branch of the Leycester family the same year.[18] In the case of the men of the Wilbraham family of Chester, their family 'diary' records the autobiographical and biographical details of several generations of patriarchs. While there is little useful evidence to date the entries, each Wilbraham man recorded the death of his predecessor and was responsible for the family diary until his death.[19]

In all these cases these men began constructing monumental texts of themselves or their families for posterity around the time that they became heads of household after the deaths of their fathers. In the Furse family, the impending intergenerational change of the patriarch of the family spurred Robert Furse to write advice and a family memoir for his then nine-year-old son in 1593, after Furse realised that he was terminally ill.[20] In other cases, men chose to write later in their lives but the retrospective nature of entries suggest that men were not engaged in this kind of commemorative writing until they were householders. Men did not write

[17] This is suggested by the consistency of the ink used in the first part of the biography which spans the years 1578–1606. See Bodl. MS Douce 280, fols. 5r–7r. Ramsey kept the book since he was 18, roughly the same year as he returned to study with his tutor Mr. Leeche. The book likely started as a student's commonplace book but became a remembrance book as time wore on and as the style of entries changed.
[18] CRO DLT/B20, fols. 24v–26r.
[19] CRO DDX210/1. The only publicly accessible copy of the diary is a photocopy of the original manuscript created in the 1960s. This obscures the ability to discern how the entries were recorded according to ink colour changes. The diary was kept consistently until the eighteenth century, and while there was a large absence of entries until the nineteenth century, the last section of the family diary remarkably dates to 1962.
[20] Anita Travers points out that Furse described himself as having the 'plage' but given that he had a few months to assemble this text before his death he likely suffered from another disease. See her introduction in Robert Furse, 'Robert Furse: A Devon Family Memoir of 1593', ed. Anita Travers, *Devon and Cornwall Record Society* 53 (2012), p. ix.

textual monuments until they had the authority and position to do so as the head of the household.

Mature masculinity also overwhelmingly set the standard for when life-writing started and what kinds of information it recorded. With a few exceptions, most male writers, whether writing about themselves or other men, noted their birth or baptism – which was a basic requirement to belong to the community, as baptism allowed children to enter into Christendom – and the defining moments of their mature masculinity, namely their inheritance or position as head of the family, freedom of a guild, marriage, the establishment of a home, and fatherhood. On the endpages of his Bible, the bookbinder John Norgate wrote his 'memoriall of proceedings' about his own life and that of his step-father Nicholas Felton, Bishop of Ely. In regards to his own life, Norgate started his text with the proclamation of his name and titles, 'John Norgate, senior, citizen and Stationer of London' followed by his birth in Cambridge on 21 January 1587.[21] Norgate then disclosed his disability; he was born lame on the right side of his body and 'did write altogeither with his left hand'.[22] The first biographical information he provided after this declaration was that he was made 'Free of the Company of Stationers the 9th day of February 1614'.[23] This established Norgate as a citizen of the city, his freedom from his apprenticeship, and his ability to start earning a living on his own. He then noted that he set up his shop on London Bridge 'at the signe of the Sheefe of Arrowes of Wednesday 31 day of May 1615'.[24] This was followed by the record of his marriage to Mary Mathew in 1616 and entries regarding the birth of his children. Norgate's life was fundamentally defined by the markers of his status as a mature male: his fiscal independence, his keeping of a household, and his virility.

When writing about his step-father, Norgate took a similar approach and highlighted very similar aspects of Felton's life. Proceeding chronologically, Norgate

[21] NRO MC 175/1/3.
[22] NRO MC 175/1/3.
[23] NRO MC 175/1/3.
[24] NRO MC 175/1/3.

recorded his stepfather's birth in Great Yarmouth 3 August 1563, and noted that he was the third son of 'John Felton of Great Yarmouth in Norfolke Alderman'.[25] He then mentioned that his mother Elizabeth Baker – he used her maiden name rather than the Norgate surname – married Felton in Cambridge in 1588.[26] He then wrote that Felton was made the parson of St. Antholin and Bow churches on 29 January 1593, a position he held until his death. Norgate then recorded the names of his half-brothers, Nicholas, Robert, and John, and noted that John died 'yonge'.

Norgate wrote of Felton's career trajectory in great detail. Felton's more notable career achievements included royal chaplaincies for both Elizabeth and James I, his involvement in the translation of the King James Bible in 1608, and his appointment as Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge in 1616. Felton was made the Bishop of Bristol 'at Lambeth on Sunday the 14 day of December 1617', and Norgate mentioned that several ecclesiastical notables were present, including Dr. George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury; Marcus Antonius de Dominis, the controversial Catholic Archbishop of Split, Croatia; Dr. John King, the Bishop of London; Dr. Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Ely; Dr. John Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester; and John Overall, who was simply referred to as the Bishop of Lichfield. Norgate then recorded Felton's appointment to the diocese of Ely the following year on Monday, 9 March 1618. For the first time in his text ,Norgate then described the personality of his stepfather, stating that he was 'a most Reverend, Grave, learned and Religious good man, and lived a mostly Godly Christian and Charitable life, Beloved of both God and all good men'.[27] Norgate finished his description of his stepfather's 'proceedings' with a description of his death, writing, 'He lived to the age of three score and three years [sixty-three years] 2 monethes and 2 daies and then died, at Chinkeford [i.e. Chingford] in Essex 8 miles of London on Thirsday the 5

[25] NRO MC 175/1/3–4.
[26] There is some discrepancy between Norgate's account of this and that in the ODNB, which states that Felton married Elizabeth in 1590. Given the precarious financial situation Elizabeth and her children were left in after her husband's death, the earlier date seems more probable.
[27] NRO MC 175/1/3–4.

day of October 1626 and was buried in Saint Antholins Church in London under the Communion Table neere his wife'.[28]

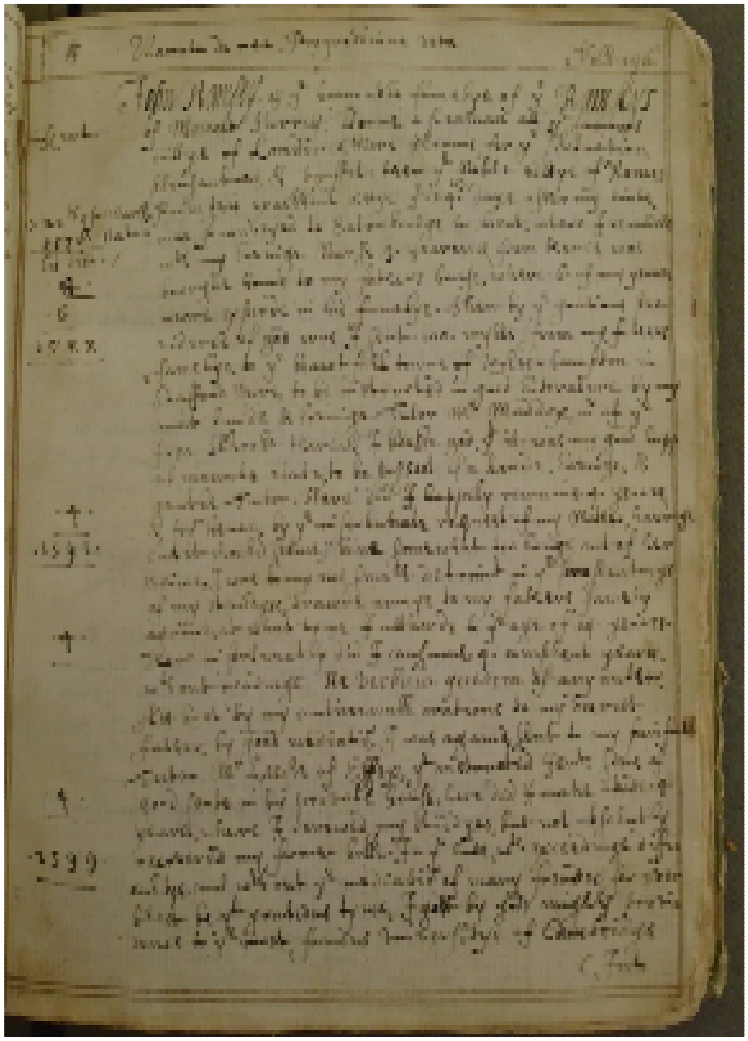
Other sources followed a similar pattern. Robert Furse of Moreshead stated that he was the son and heir of his father, John Furse, and listed his inheritance which 'after the dyssesse of the sayede John Furse and John Moreshede (Furse's maternal grandfather) he by juste tyyell and a lyneall dyssente' held.[29] He then wrote that he 'dyd marrye on [sic] Wyllemot Rowelonde'.[30] After further discussion of his expansion and improvement of the family land holdings, Furse listed off his 'issue' and recorded the marriages of his daughters.[31] In his family Bible, Phillip Skippon, the parliamentary army officer and Interregnum politician, recorded his marriage to 'maria comes…in the netherlands Church in Frankendall on Tuesday the 14th of may 1622' and then the births and deaths of his eight children.[32] Once again, marriage, inheritance of the role of patriarch, and fatherhood were the three most important factors many men chose to list in their life-writing.

Less frequently, some men reflected on their childhoods, but when this information was presented it often privileged education, tutelage, and apprenticeships spent in other households. The retrospective memoir written by Thomas Godfrey of Lidd in Kent opens with an account of his mother's genealogy – she was an heiress, so stating her status had impact on his inheritance and thus his own status as a patriarch – and with a recollection of his childhood. He noted that after his mother's death in 1589, he 'lived from my Father with my Aunt Berrie untill I was 8 Years

[28] NRO MC 174/1/3–4.
[29] DHC D2507, fol. 43.
[30] DHC D2507, fol. 43.
[31] DHC D2507, fols. 49–50.
[32] SRO 613/773, fols. 1v–3r.

Old, from whence I went to Challock to the Grammer School'.[33] He was admitted to St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1599 at the age of fourteen.[34]

Figure 6: Ramsey's Miscellany[35]



John Ramsey also recorded his childhood education and boarding elsewhere. He recorded that he was 'Borne a freeman at the famous cittye of London' on 22 March 1578 and then on 'the 24th daye after my birth, I was conveyed to Eatenbridge

[33] BL MS Lansdowne 235, fol. 1r.
[34] BL MS Lansdowne 235, fol. 1r.
[35] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fol. 5r. Reproduced with permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

in kent, where I remained with my lovinge Nurse 3 yeares and from thence was brought home to my fathers house, where 6 of my yeares were expirde [sic] in his famelye'.[36] He then noted that he was then sent to Wolverhampton, Staffordshire to 'my mose kinde & lovinge Tutor Mr. Maddox, master of the free Schoole thereof'.[37] After four years at the free school, Ramsey was recalled home by his mother due to his long absence from her, but Ramsey reflected poorly on this, writing that it was an 'inportunate request' that was of 'no small detriment in the prosecuting of my studdyes', for Ramsey did 'consume 4 compleat yeares without reading'.[38] Ramsey resumed his studies under the private tutelage of one Mr. Leeche, who 'instructed gentlemens' sons of good sorte in his private house' but despite his return to formal study, Ramsey wrote that he 'not absolutely recovered my former losse'.[39] He was eventually admitted to Peterhouse, Cambridge. Childhood could be recounted but tended to focus heavily on apprenticeship or time served in other households, together with education and the rites of passage that were required to groom men into the patriarchs they were expected to become.

Patterns, however, could be disrupted. In the Wilbraham family diary, generations of men recorded their 'remembrances'. The family diary starts with entries by Richard Wilbraham. The first entry pertaining to Wilbraham's life is 'Memorandum that I Richard Wilbraham tooke to wief Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Maisterson gentleman, the 20th day of october Anno domini 1550 & in the fourth yeare of the Raigne of king Edward the sixth'.[40] He then recorded that his father in law died in January 1550[41] before noting the birth of his first child, a son named Richard, on 5 January 1551.[42] Richard continued to record the births, marriages, and deaths of close relatives, extended family, and friends alongside

[36] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fol. 5r.
[37] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fol. 5r.
[38] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fol. 5r.
[39] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fol. 5r.
[40] CRO DDX210/1, fol. 1r.
[41] Old Style Date.
[42] Old Style Date.

entries regarding extreme weather, floods, and fire. Richard's account followed the general pattern established in other forms of textual monuments.

When Richard died in 1612, his grandson Thomas took over the family diary.[43] Thomas's first entries record the death of his grandfather, an earthquake, and the death of a family friend before he recorded that in 1613, at the age of twenty-four, he was admitted to Lincoln's Inn and to Brasenose College, Oxford. Thomas deviated somewhat from the patriarchal model as he made several entries about his tour of Europe between 1614 and 1616 before he recorded his marriage to Rachel Clive on 24 March 1619. In contrast to his grandfather, Thomas took his time to enjoy the freedom of bachelorhood before settling down. However, Thomas clearly took his placement at the head of the family as the defining moment to write rather than his marriage. Once married, Thomas too took note of the births, marriages, and deaths of family and friends near and far, as well as other events.

The third Wilbraham to record in the family diary was Thomas's third son Roger; his first son predeceased him, and his second son, Thomas, died in 1649 unmarried and without issue. Roger recorded the educations all three brothers received at St. Catherine's College, Cambridge from 1640–3 and their admission to Lincoln's Inn in 1642. This of course followed the pattern set by the likes of John Ramsey and Thomas Godfrey. However, extenuating circumstances significantly changed Roger's narrative. Roger recorded the upheaval that the family experienced during the civil wars. He noted his father's death in 1643, the siege of Chester, and the execution of King Charles I before he recorded his brother's death in 1649. He then noted the consequences of the family's dire fiscal circumstances, which forced Roger and his mother to board with an aunt until his marriage in 1656 when Roger was thirty-three years old. In Roger's case, the war and its aftermath in the Interregnum delayed his entry into full masculine maturity as it was defined socially and economically. Nevertheless, once he was able to do so, Roger continued to

[43] CRO DDX210/1, fol. 13r. Richard's eldest son, also called Richard, predeceased him in 1601.

record the moments in life that defined mature hegemonic masculinity such as his marriage and the births of his children. The defining characteristics of mature manhood dictated when men would write their textual monuments.

Meanings of Monuments of Manhood: Ideals, Actions, and Anxieties

When men wrote commemorative texts and their content was heavily dictated by the markers of mature masculinity. But what was the meaning of these markers of mature masculinity in the context of commemoration and monumentality? The following section will examine how the contents of these texts memorialised and reinforced patriarchal ideals such as household governance, fatherhood, economic provision, as well as actions of masculinity particularly in instances of domination of women and children, and the use of violence for protection of reputation. Underlying the reinforcement of these ideals are at times tensions and anxieties regarding the inability to uphold ideals, and the discussion below will highlight how men reinterpreted their narratives to mask or mitigate the impacts of these tensions.

Patriarchal Virtues: Provision[44]

The markers of mature masculinity and the contents of textual monuments were imbued with meaning in early modern England. Economic provision and a man's status as a provider for his family lie at the very heart of many textual monuments written by men. For members of the gentry, this often meant an emphasis on the management and expansion of landholdings, inheritance, and the establishment and maintenance of debit/credit, patronage, and personal and familial networks. By commemorating these aspects of gentry identity, men were demonstrating their genteel status, their ability to provide for their families and for the next generation, and their honour and reputation through their maintenance of good credit and good husbandry. This lent them authority and respectability in their communities. For

[44] Portions of the following discussion relating to Richard Wilton's remembrance book draws upon part of my previously published work on the Wilton manuscript. See Simone Hanebaum, 'Historical Writing? – Richard Wilton's "Booke of Particular Remembrances", 1584–1634', *The Seventeenth Century* (2018), DOI: 10.1080/0268117X.2018.1485594.

example, the expression of the virtues assigned to gentility and mature masculinity were very apparent in Richard Wilton's remembrance book. The majority of entries in the manuscript are financial transactions regarding rents and agricultural goods but the selective nature of the text – for example there are very few domestic expenditure entries recorded– suggests that Wilton's small notebook was not a part of the manorial records. Posthumously, Wilton's son labelled this book a 'booke of particular remembrances', highlighting the fact that Wilton recorded these entries as things worthy of memory, because these entries demonstrated the importance of the maintenance of the estate. Wilton demonstrated his ability to provide for the present and the future, which reflected the masculine virtues of self-discipline, prudence, and provision. A healthy estate would leave his heir a financially stable future and was a demonstration of his fulfilment of patriarchal obligation.

Wilton's entries regarding debts and loans are further suggestive of his good provision for his estate and his fulfilment of his genteel, patriarchical obligations. Wilton lent money and took on debts; portions of his manuscript are entitled 'Debtes owing by me Rich[ard] Wilton this 18 of October as followe' and 'Debtes owinge me Richard Wilton 3 March Anno 1593'.[45] Honour and good husbandry required Wilton to pay off his debts in a timely fashion, and Christian condemnation of usury required loans to be lent without interest. Wilton tended to borrow less than £20 from close friends or family and he preferred to lend in goods rather than cash. His timely payment of debts and repayment of loans is represented by the striking through of debt/credit entries in his manuscript and thus their effective erasure from the record. This signalled that Wilton was a credible man of good social standing.[46] This integrity resulted in prosperity evidenced in Wilton's probate will; he left considerable financial bequests to an extended network of family members and left a secure and prosperous estate to his heir, Robert. Financial security, responsibility,

[45] CUL Buxton Papers 96/15, pp. 29, 75.
[46] Alexandra Shepard, *Accounting for One's Self: Worth, Status and the Social Order in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2015), and Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998).

and honour were clearly very important to Wilton and demonstrated his possession of gentlemanly and masculine virtues.

Economic provision also featured prominently in the family memoir of Robert Furse. Furse's entire manuscript is organised by familial descent on his paternal and maternal sides. While the genealogical portion of the text is considerable in size, each lineage in prose is accompanied by descriptions of the landholdings inherited. For example, Furse opened his account of the 'Furse Family and Their Properties' with the following preamble:

> This is the True and perfytte petigrewe and lyneall succession off Rolonde de Cumba alias Furse and of dyvers other persones whiche were lawfullye sesede of dyveres messuages londes and tenements whych nowe by lawfulle and lynealle dyssente ys the inheritanse of Robert Furse of Moresehede yn the paryshe of Denepryer in the Cowntye of Devon gentylleman in maner and form following.[47]

In his descriptions of the 'perfytte petigrewe', Furse usually discussed the biographical details of his ancestors, often including the markers of mature masculinity in his discussion of male ancestors, particularly their marriages and their progeny. These descriptions were often interspersed with accounts of landholdings as well. In the biographical narrative of his ancestor Roland de Cumba alias Furse, Robert Furse listed his ancestor's landholdings and noted that 'all the foresede londes in Furse and Westewaye hathe contynuallye remained in the possession of Furses and of ther tenantes', thus emphasising the continuation of inheritance within the Furse family for centuries and demonstrating the prudence and foresight of his ancestors' management of the family holdings, as well as his own.[48]

After Furse recorded Roland Furse's contributions he described the properties of 'Furse in Cheryton Fytzpyne' and 'Westewaye in Cruse Morcharde'.[49] He

[47] DHC D2507, fol. 1.
[48] DHC D2507, fol. 1.
[49] DHC D2507, fols. 3–6.

included the names of particular landmarks or farms within their holdings, past and present tenants and lease agreements good and bad, as well as the acreage of some holdings. This information undoubtedly corresponded with the leases and other agreements held within the family archive of the Furse family. Synthesising this information into a memorial book acted as a 'back up' of information in another place, but the manuscript also served as a monument to the hard work, prudence, and provision of generations past, present, and future. In fact, Furse articulated this explicitly in his text, writing 'my purpose and intente ys in the beste and pleneste sorte that I can for your better understondynge to declare and sett further what our projenytors have bynne of them selves and spesyallye those that have bynne withyn this seven score yeres.[50]

The reason for doing this was simple. Furse desired his son and his 'sequele' to whom the text is dedicated to mind their ancestors, because 'althoffe some of them wer but sympell rude unlernede and men off smalle possessyones substanse habillytye or reputasion, yt I do wysshe and exhorte you all that you sholde not be ashamed of them nor mocke dysdayne or spite them'.[51] Furse's successors should respect their ancestors because

> even so you all thoffe our projenytores and forefatheres were as the hedde I do mene at the begynnynge but plene and sympell men and wemen and of smalle possession and habylyte y[e]t have theye by lytell and lytell by the helpe and favor of our good god and by ther wysedom and good governanse so rennet her curse passed ther tymes and alwayes kepte themselves wytheyn there on bowndes that by these menes we ar come to myche more pssessyones credett and reputasyon than ever anye of them hadde.[52]

Furse clearly intended for the evidence of estate maintenance and expansion to demonstrate the good credit and reputation of his ancestors and himself, and to stand as a memorial to them. He repeated this descriptive process for the Moreshead,

[50] DHC D2507, fol. A,
[51] DHC D2507, fol. C.
[52] DHC D2507, fol. C.

Adler, and Rowland lines of the family that led to his present land holdings. In his autobiographical narrative, Furse described at length his acquisition of the manor of Skyrrdon and the improvements he made to the manor. He noted how he expanded the manor house, built new barns, enlarged the orchard, and furnished the house with new bedsteads, plate and other chattel, 'the same yn mycke better valye than he reseved'.[53] The description of this economic provision served to reiterate, repeatedly, the virtues of his status as a gentleman and as a mature man. While some lands were inherited through women via marriage, such as the holdings that came into Furse's possession by his marriage to his wife Willmot Rowland, the issue of inheritance in a society with primogeniture and the role inheritance had in providing for the family in the present and the future coded inheritance as a masculine concern.

This emphasis on economic provision is seen in other sources from men across the social spectrum, sometimes in different forms. For John Norgate, becoming a freeman of the Company of Stationers – a marker of adulthood and full, independent economic participation as man – and the date that he opened his own bookselling shop on Tower Bridge were important markers of his ability to earn money to support a household. He also recorded how he became a bookbinder in his mid-thirties. He wrote:

> He began to learne to Binde Bookes in Leather and past boords and all other waies vpon Monday the 16 day of August 1624 and although he weare lame and unfitting to doe it yet he gave his mind so much unto it, that it pleased God soe to blesse and prosper his poore indeavers theirin, that through his owne Industry and practise he brought his worke to soe good a perfection in a short time that it was well liked, of his worke masters about the riall [i.e. Royal] Exchange and all other that he doth worke unto that now he doth live altogeither by that trade. Gods holy name be glorified for it, and make him ever thankefull unto him for his inestimable goodnesse and mercy towards him theirin.[54]

[53] DHC D2507, fols. 43–44.
[54] NRO MC 175/1/3–4.

Occupational labels in the early modern period were imprecise; the terms stationer, bookbinder and book seller were all used to describe individuals in the book trade, and many were involved in various aspects of the book industry from printing to the book market that had arisen around St. Paul's and other locations throughout the city.[55] Given the emphasis that Norgate gave his learning of bookbinding through explicit mention of it in his text however suggests that this was an important shift in Norgate's life and occupation. There is no way of knowing what advice Felton gave his stepson, and thus no way of knowing why Norgate undertook this change, but economical and practical reasons may have been the main impetus. Book binding required less space and was a cheaper service to offer, suggesting there may have been higher profit margins in the production rather than sales side of the book industry.[56] If this was the case, it was a demonstration of John Norgate's responsibility to provide for his household. Economic provision of the household was fundamental to the articulation of the virtues of hegemonic masculinity.

Patriarchal Virtues: Office-holding

A mature man who had control over his household was entitled, and expected, to partake in public service through officeholding and community leadership.[57] Thus office-holding and public service were intrinsic to the commemoration of men in early modern England as they demonstrated the exercise of authority.[58] John Ramsey embodied the very definition of Richard Cust's late Tudor and early Stuart 'public man'; he was a man that through Renaissance ideals of stoicism fashioned himself to

[55] See James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade,* 1450–1850 (New Haven, 2007). I am grateful for a Twitter exchange with Ian Gadd (16 November 2016) regarding the Company of Stationers in clarifying Norgate's slight shift in occupational focus.
[56] This was suggested to me in the aforementioned social media exchange with Ian Gadd (16 November 2016).
[57] Anna Bryson, 'The Rhetoric of Status: Gesture, Demeanor and the Image of the Gentleman in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England', *in Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture, c.1540–1660*, edited eds. Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn (London, 1990), pp. 144–147. See chapter 20 in Thomas Smith, *The commonwelth of England, and the maner of government thereof* (London, 1589), pp. 35–37. See also Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales*.
[58] See Peter Sherlock, 'Patriarchal Memory', p. 281.

be an honest country man of cardinal virtues whose duty it was to serve his country and community.[59] Ramsey became a 'public man' through experience. In his autobiographical account he wrote how 'In Anno 1603 the 4th daye of March, att the comminge of my Soveraigne kinge James, I inprovidently withdrew my selfe from Cambridge, & met with his Majestie att Burley house the honorable Lord Treasurors in Yorkshire And so contineued a Courtier (by the earnest request of the honorable knight Sir John Ramsey of the Kinges bedchamber) until I was absolutely weary of that teadious life'.[60] Ramsey's time as a courtier lasted only about 2 years and was clearly a source of regret due to cutting off his studies early. In 1605/6 when he inherited the manor of Whitegreen, Ramsey retired from court life and settled in the country to enjoy a 'quiet, contented private life'.[61]

However, his contentment was short-lived. Ramsey found that his neighbours, the 'gentlemen of the best sorte' in his community were 'most of them in publique meetinges (as att Sessions & such like) very insufficient to speake to any matter propounded'.[62] The local elites, expected to be godly magistrates, were found utterly wanting in competence in Ramsey's mind. Further he observed 'howe one man (beinge a profest Lawyer) caried the brunt of all the busines: which meseemed was very inconvenient to the Cuntry in generall, especially if that one Mann should be corrupt'.[63] Something needed to be done. Another honest man competent in legal matters was needed, and Ramsey, with stoic acceptance of duty and honour, was just the man for the job. 'And for this only respect, to doe my Neighbours & Cuntreye Good (by givinge my advise graces) I betooke my selfe to the Studdye of the Lawe, wherein I weded [sic waded] (my gratious god be praised) to my noe small advantage: And soe was the 23rd daye of Marche Anno 1606…admitted into the Middle Temple'.[64] While time at court was eventually a source of regret for Ramsey,

[59] Richard Cust, 'The "Public Man"', pp. 116–143.
[60] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fol. 8v.
[61] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fol. 6v.
[62] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fol. 6v.
[63] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fol. 6v.
[64] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fol. 6v–7r.

it was an opportunity to serve the Crown and make connections. Spending time at local courts was expected of a man of Ramsey's status, and in articulating his dutiful undertaking of legal study for the betterment of his community, Ramsey not only demonstrated that his authority was legitimate, but also that he exemplified the virtues expected of governing men.

While the rhetoric of the public man is absent in Richard Wilton's account of his public service, he too listed the public offices he held during his lifetime in his book of remembrance. He was the churchwarden for Topcroft parish in 1586, 1601, 1606, 1613, and 1627, and was a justice of the peace.[65] When John Norgate wrote about his stepfather Nicholas Felton, most of the biographical information he recorded related to Felton's various ecclesiastical positions.[66] Robert Furse recorded the offices he held and that of his ancestors. Furse was constable of Stanborough Hundred for sixteen years and a juror for 30 years in his community and he noted this with pride in his 'serves of the prynse'.[67] His grandfather John Furse 'dyd procure dyvers good and in thos dayes profytabell offyses for he was too several tyme undershryfe of Devon and onse chefe collector of the fyftyedole'. Furse also spent several years as a steward for the Stannery, or stewards' courts, for the Duchy of Lancaster, and for the Abbots' court of Tavistoke and Buckland'.[68] Office-holding represented the epitome of hegemonic masculinity in the public sphere and was an expression of the virtues of duty, obligation, stoicism, discipline, and control.

Be a Man: The Control of Women and Children

The control of those individuals under a mature man's governance was a defining characteristic of hegemonic masculinity and the act of being a patriarch in early

[65] CUL Buxton Papers 96/15, pp. 7, 66, 102; E.K. Bennet, 'Notes from a Norfolk Squire's Note-Book, with some Particulars of School and College Expenses in the 16th and 17th Centuries', *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Communications: being papers presented at the meetings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 5 (1886), p. 205. Wilton's first tenure as churchwarden occurred when he was merely 25 years old and he served with his father-in-law Robert Buxton. Wilton was most likely the junior churchwarden at the time.
[66] NRO MC 175/1/3–4.
[67] DHC D2507, fol. 45.
[68] DHC D2507, fol. 21.

modern England. Control over family members, including servants, women, and children, exemplified the virtues of duty and discipline. The following investigation will examine the latter two subordinate groups in the context of masculine monumentality. Successful discipline and control of others indicated by extension that a man had control of himself. These two groups were thought to need patriarchal guidance and when they successfully exemplified the virtues expected of them, such as obedience and piety, it reflected well on a patriarch's character. Through the memorialization of wives and children, patriarchs memorialised themselves and the performance of their role and patriarchal responsibilities.[69]

Robert Furse made the importance of selecting a wife and maintaining good governance of subordinates explicit in his opening advice to his heir. On wives, Furse advised his son to

> gette the a wyse woman and she shall rule well thye howse and that yn good order and brynge the forthe wyse and dyscryte chylderen…yn dede, I do not mynde to her fere beawtye favor or goodelye stature or personage or to her grette ryches or possession or to her worshyppefull stocke or kyndred. Yet I do not mene but all thos thynges be good and ar to be desired as a thynge fytte and convenyente for you so that theye be plased in a dyscryte woman of good and honest conversasyon.[70]

Wealth and attraction were things to be hoped for, but being a reputable, unobtrusive, and sensible woman was the first and foremost requirement for a wife. A sensible woman displayed prudence, provided counsel to her husband when it was sought but deferred to his good judgement, did not frivolously spend the household's income, and very importantly, she would not embarrass or shame her husband. Furse further cautioned his son that 'whate so ever she be inquyre dylygentelye of what nature quallytes or condysyiones her mother ys of, for commenly the dofter do lerne the

[69] Katharine Coolahan argued that the memorialisation of wives as exemplary Protestant women also cultivated the reputation of husbands through posthumous curation of the literary endeavours of wives. See Marie-Louise Coolahan, 'Literary Memorialization and Posthumous Construction of Female Authorship', in *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post-Reformation*, eds. Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (Farnham, 2013), p. 175.
[70] DHC D2507, fol. E.

quallytes and maners of ther mother and marke also howe and yn what companye she hathe bynne brofte uppe from her yuthe'.[71] Further, 'beware that she be not of more abyllytye then you are, for then surelye she wylbe chargeabell for you to mentayne'.[72] Other good qualities that Furse advised his son to look for included sobriety, wisdom, discretion, gentle, modesty, good behaviour, knowledge of 'howe to use and govern thos thynges appertenynge and belongen to her charge', and the ability to 'play the partes of a gentyllewoman and of a good hussewyfe'.[73]

Beyond good advice, the feminine virtues were articulated in Furse's narratives of his ancestors. Describing the wife of his great-grandfather John Furse (1432–1508/9), Anne Adler, Furse noted that she 'contynued a wyddo 30 yeres and mentanyed a verye good howse at Erydege and was a woman of grette welthe'.[74] She was 'a very wyse and a dyscryte woman and a perfytt good hussewife and a carefull woman for her busyness'.[75] Furse also noted the leases she made during her widowhood which demonstrated her maintenance of her widow's portion and the lands she brought into the Furse family by marriage. In fact, Anne and her husband were so good at estate management that Furse wrote that they were 'too of the beste labourers that came ynto our harvest for we injoyede moste of our londes from them and by there menes therefore we have good cose to have them in memorye for in truthe theye were the fyrst fondasyon of all our credytt'.[76] Anne possessed the necessary feminine virtues to be a good wife and this clearly reflected well on her husband. Thus, her memorialization also memorialised her husband.

Furse continued in this vein while writing about his grandmothers Mary Foxcombe, the first wife of his paternal grandfather John Furse (c.1481–1549) and mother of his father, and Nicole Moreshead, his maternal grandmother. Mary

[71] DHC D2507, fol. E.
[72] DHC D2507, fol. E.
[73] DHC D2507, fol. F.
[74] DHC D2507, fol. 9.
[75] DHC D2507, fol. 9.
[76] DHC D2507, fol. 9.

Foxecombe died at approximately age forty, 'to all our greete loste and henderanse in here beste tyme' and Furse described her as 'a verye tryme comlye woman a paynefull wife and carefull for her busyness, gentell and fryndelye and belovyde of all men and grettleye estemed for her vertus lyfe and good and honeste quallytes'.[77] Nicole Moreshead was 'a good prosperus fortunate and most happye grandmother', a 'grett laborer' in her youth, 'a good and godlye mynded woman', a 'good alme woman and lyberall to powre she was curtes and fryndely to all peopell and belloved of all men and yn her yuthe she was a very bewtyfull woman desente in her apparel and perfytt good hussewyfe'.[78] Furse also benefitted from his grandmother's love and inherited some of his great-grandfather's estate through her.[79] Furse always wrote about wives in relation to their husbands. These women were virtuous of their own accord and provided examples of wisdom and prudence that could have been emulated by either sex in the early modern period. However, in articulating women's virtues in connection with their husbands, Furse commended their husbands on their choice of wife and reinforced the memorialisation of prudential and governing ideals of mature masculinity.

Another example which also demonstrates this phenomenon is the account of the death of Richard Wilton's wife Anne from complications during childbirth.[80] He described Anne as 'fering God', 'humbly mynded', 'faithful and true hartd', "Tender loving paynful & Carefull for her childrens educacion especially to instruct them the feare of god Reding the Scriptures & godly Sermons', among other virtues.[81] Anne thus embodied many of the feminine virtues outlined above by Robert Furse; she was pious, modest, and performed her responsibilities as a wife and mother. He also noted that she died a good death uttering assurance of her election, an important aspiration of Protestants, in marginalia beside the entry regarding his wife's death.

[77] DHC D2507, fol. 21.
[78] DHC D2507, fol. 39.
[79] DHC D2507, fol. 39.
[80] Part of the following discussion of the death of Richard Wilton's wife draws upon my previous published work in Hanebaum, 'Historical writing?'.
[81] CUL Buxton Papers 96/15, flyleaf 2v.

Exemplary wives reflected well on husbands, and indirectly memorialised their husbands and their virtues.

The commemoration of children functioned in a similar manner. When Wilton recorded the death of his second son Richard from a fever in 1620, Wilton wrote:

> …his sicknes & death was a burninge fever wherone he lay about 14 dayes enduring much payne but as quiett for that extreme fittes as most vttering oute of his fittes comfortable & hopefull speches of the assurance of his salvacion by Christ & ofte repeted a short prayer of his owne compilinge wherby especally [sic] with his trewe concionable [sic] and diligent Care trusty & faithfull dilligence to his Master in his trade & calling although I gathered over soeme to grete hope of joye & comfort of him for his well doing & preferment in this life yet far greter joye It assurd myselfe of his far better preferment to celestiall & hevenly joyes in the glorious Kingdom of heaven…[82]

Wilton's description of his son's death stressed Protestant virtues of a good death and assurance of salvation. The younger Wilton died quietly, despite a great deal of pain and discomfort, uttering 'comfortable & hopefull speches' of his assurance. These were markers of exemplary Protestant piety. While the younger Richard was undoubtedly expected to cultivate his piety on his own, it was also the responsibility of parents to shape their children's spirituality. In his memorial to his son, Wilton also drew attention to his son's 'trusty & faithfull dilligence', and his duty and obedience to his master. This was a virtue expected of children and of subordinates, as Robert Furse exemplified in instructing his son to 'Reverens your yelderes and betteres'.[83] The actions of children, good or bad, reflected on their upbringing and the virtues of their parents. As one early modern commonplace put it, 'Pure children are the truest Chronicles in whom as in ours images wee seeme to outlive oureselves'.[84] Both mothers and fathers were responsible for their children, but

[82] CUL Buxton Papers 96/15, p. 128.
[83] DHC D2507, fol. E.
[84] BL MS Sloane 892, fol. 49r.

fathers as the heads of household bore the brunt of that responsibility, particularly in the public sphere. If a family was well-behaved and fitted the ideals expected of them, then it in turn provided proof of the patriarch's excellent governance and control of his household.

The lists of births that are evident in many textual monuments all reflect the virility of patriarchs. To be a man was to provide for the household economically, and to provide for its future; impotence and sterility were routinely satirised and condemned in conduct books and popular literature of the time. The masculinity of men who were unable to reproduce due to sterility or other reproductive disorders was called into question, as it raised doubts regarding their self-mastery, their ability to hold public office, and their economic and sexual capabilities.[85] By listing their children, these men demonstrated their reproductive potency and their fulfilment of social expectations, memorialising their mature masculinity.

Be a Man: Dominance and Violence

Reputation and one's credit were fundamental building blocks of social relations in early modern England. Respectability and good credit meant inclusion in one's community, economic access, and the legitimation of one's authority. The successful control of subordinate members of the household and the exercise of public authority via office-holding could cultivate respectability and protect reputation. However, a man's reputation could also be undermined by a variety of factors, from slander to cuckoldry, and called into question. Being a man required the protection of reputations, often through the use of violence. John Ramsey included such an episode in his account of his life. He wrote, 'in a single combat after I had given my Enimye his life, by an unhappye blowe I lost the use of my right hande which makes me write now soe ill with the left'.[86] Ramsey did not specify what led to the duel. However, by specifying that he had 'given [his] Enimye his life' Ramsey either

[85] Reinke-Williams, 'Manhood and Masculinity', pp. 686–687; H. Berry and E. Foyster, 'Childless Men in Early Modern England', in *The Family in Early Modern England*, eds. H Berry and E. Foyster (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 158–183.
[86] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fol.7v.

demonstrated that he undertook the necessary action to protect his reputation by winning the challenge and thus protecting his own reputation – or indeed affirmed that his opponent's character was lacking in some way – or that he had exercised discretion and mercy toward his opponent. This episode represents the protection of honour through the use of justified violence and demonstrates Ramsey's prowess in that area due to his victory and Christian values.

Another record of protection of reputation is found in the autobiographical writings of the controversial physician and astrologist Simon Forman. When Forman was an apprentice to a hosier-cum-merchant in Salisbury throughout his adolescence he was allegedly harassed by Mary Roberts, a kitchen maid, who 'often tymes she wold knock him [Simon] that the blod should rone [sic run] aboute his eares'.[87] Forman's life-writing is rife with accounts of regular beatings and abuse, both emotional and physical, from teachers and his own family as a child. These violent experiences had, in fact, driven him to apprentice himself to his master for a decade at the age of eleven after the death of his father.[88] Simon was the youngest of his master's apprentices and 'lyttle and small of stature', so the other apprentices and the household maids would bully him.

By the time Simon was sixteen, he and Mary were the only young people in service in the house. One day, the master and mistress of the house had gone out and left Simon in charge of the shop. It was a busy day and 'many customers came for ware That Simon could not attend them all'.[89] He called for Mary to help him mind the shop but she refused, 'reviled him with many bytter wordes', threatened him with an ear boxing, and went her way.[90] Simon managed the shop the best he could and when he had finished he took a yard, or a small stick or twig, and came into the house. Mary was prepared to beat him but Simon struck first. He 'strocke her on the handes with his yard and belabored her soe or he went that he made her black and

[87] Bodl. MS Ashmole 208, fol. 139r.
[88] Bodl. MS Ashmole 208, fols. 137r–138v.
[89] Bodl. MS Ashmole 208, fol. 139r.
[90] Bodl. MS Ashmole 208, fol. 139r.

blue All over &burste her head & handes that he laid her Alonge Crying and Roringe lik a bulle for he beate her therowly for all her knavery before to him done'.[91] Simon feared that his mistress, who disliked him, would come home first and take the maid's side, but his master came home. After questioning the maid as to what happened, he asked Simon for his account of events. Simon recounted Mary's refusal to help with minding the shop. For her negligence, Simon told his master he gave her 'thre of 4 lambskines [i.e. thrashings]'.[92] His master then said that Simon had 'servedst her well ynoughe…and if she be soe obstinate serve her soe again'.[93] After this incident Simon and Mary 'agreed soe well that they nether were at square after. And Mary wold doe for him all that she could'.[94]

This account of violence was a demonstration of masculine dominance and a formative experience in Forman's development toward becoming a governing man. According to Forman, Mary was a bully and a scold. She was lazy, disrespectful, abusive, quarrelsome, and obstinate, qualities that were antithetical to the feminine virtues of industry, respect, caring love, amity, and obedience. At sixteen, Simon may not have been a fully mature man, but his status as a trusted employee and his master's approval of the beating suggested that Simon ranked above Mary in the household hierarchy, a position he cemented through violence. This episode also demonstrated Forman's justified exercise of violence to control and to dominate Mary into submission. Violence that was too severe or unjustified was viewed as a violation of a person, and when that line was crossed, violence could represent a lack of control in a man and undermine his claims to authority and legitimacy.[95] Controlled violence was, however, perceived to be an accepted, natural, and necessary part of early modern power hierarchies when subordinates were misbehaving. Violence used to correct bad behaviour was viewed as an exercise of

[91] Bodl. MS Ashmole 208, fol. 139r.
[92] Bodl. MS Ashmole 208, fol. 139v.
[93] Bodl. MS Ashmole 208, fol. 139v.
[94] Bodl. MS Ashmole 208, fol. 139v.
[95] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood,* ch. 5.

sound judgment and control when it was justified. This is further suggested by the amity reached between Simon and Mary. Mary, appropriately corrected, no longer quarrelled with Simon and even went out of her way to treat him nicely by providing him with extra butter at breakfast.[96] Forman had begun to practice or perform the script expected of him as a man and recording this turning point memorialised that moment of 'real' manhood in his life. The performative nature of gender virtues and roles meant that the act of being a man was important to the commemoration of men, by themselves and others.

Found Wanting: Masculine Realities, Anxieties and Changing the Past

Until this point, the discussion has focused on ideals, which were fundamental to commemoration. The form of commemoration and the expectation that textual monuments were going to be read by later generations meant that exemplary scripts needed to be followed. Thus, men had to find creative ways to mask or downplay their shortcomings, while emphasising those characteristics that best fitted the mould of the independent, providing, governing, self-controlled patriarch. Men sought to demonstrate their exemplarity and the fame which made them worthy of commemoration in their monuments. One case that provides compelling evidence of the tensions between ideals and shortcomings is that of the bookbinder John Norgate. When Norgate shifted his career to bookbinding, he wrote that 'through his owne Industry and practise he brought his worke to soe good a perfection in a short time that it was well liked, of his worke masters about the riall [i.e. Royal] Exchange and all other that he doth worke unto that now he doth live altogeither by that trade'.[97]Norgate emphasised how quickly he picked up the techniques of book binding and how he depended solely on it for the family income. As suggested above, one reason for this change may have been to better provide for his family. However, another reason is suggested by his stepfather's probate will. Felton's probate will, dated 7 October 1626, gave to Norgate, 'beside all the money which I

[96] Bodl. MS Ashmole 208, fol. 139v.
[97] NRO MC 175/1/3–4.

have laid out for him, I doe give him fortie poundes towards the furnishinge of his shoppe' and stipulated that Felton's friend John Simson or his brother Daniel Felton were to 'require of him [Norgate] a certificate of what he hath bought and to take the paines to see it'.[98] This suggests that Norgate may have struggled financially and had some continued dependence on his stepfather as an adult, either through loss of potential earnings due to disability, or due to actual fiscal mismanagement or economic downturn. Norgate's career shift took place entirely because his stepfather instructed to him to make a change. On 12 August 1624, Norgate 'gave over his shop of London Bridge by the will and commandement of the right reverend father in God Nicholas Felton Lord Bishop of Eley…then he let it unto John Spencer stationer after he had keept it 9 yeares 2 moneths and 12 daies'.[99] Felton *commanded* Norgate to change how he was supporting his family.

Normally, this would undermine Norgate's masculinity; another patriarch had to step in and tell him to change his occupation because he was not adequately providing for his family. Felton's greater social rank and his responsibilities as Norgate's father, albeit by marriage, somewhat mitigated this, and Norgate's submission to Felton's will can be interpreted as filial duty. This is also the only point in his own 'proceedings' of his life where Norgate discussed providence in his life. Despite Norgate's disabilities, 'it pleased God soe to blesse and prosper his poore indeavers theirin' and Norgate prayed that 'Gods holy name be glorified for it, and make him [Norgate] ever thankefull unto him for his inestimable goodnesse and mercy towards him theirin'.[100] Norgate's success and change was also part of God's plan. and his providence. By framing this event as such, Norgate very likely expressed a genuine belief in God's will, but it also allowed Norgate to demonstrate his piety and removed some responsibility for his economic situation. Using piety, providence, filial duty, and the economic success implied by quick learning, Norgate

[98] TNA PRO 11/150/73.
[99] NRO MC 175/1/3–4.
[100] NRO MC 175/1/3–4.

masked potential sources of criticisms and instead shifted the narrative to demonstrate other important masculine attributes. Consequently, Norgate was able to mask his shortcomings and craft a commemorative narrative that conformed to social expectations of masculinity, thus making him worthy of fame and remembrance.

Monuments Maketh the Man: Motivations, Places, and Spaces

Although monuments memorialised manhood, the act of commemoration, or of 'monumenting' themselves and others, was an act of manhood itself. In the post-Reformation world, textual forms of commemoration were the responsibility of men and the creation of monuments allowed them to articulate their masculinity. The motivations behind the creation of textual monuments, their 'content of the form', and the places and spaces in which textual monuments were made, were inherently tied up with concepts of mature masculinity.

The motivation behind textual monuments written by men was to preserve a *useful* memory of the past passed down from father to son. This explains the heavy emphasis on land holdings and transactions preserved in many textual monuments, or the creation of textual monuments in useful textual spaces like account books or commonplace books. For the gentry, land was what fundamentally allowed their families and lifestyles to thrive. This is why Robert Furse instructed his son to remember his ancestors and their contributions because it was through their efforts that lands were acquired, inheritances preserved and expanded, and 'by these menes we ar come to myche more pssessyones credett and reputasyon than ever anye of them hadde'.[101] Knowing where one's lands came from and how, what legal disputes had been settled or not, and what land was leased not only commemorated the example of one's ancestors, it also provided useful information that concerned the estate, its every-day operations, and the next generation's responsibilities. The requirement to remember the useful also explains the heavily emphasis on economic transactions in Richard Wilton's remembrance book where he recorded and crossed

[101] DHC D2507, fol. C.

out leases and payments for goods, and entries like the one made by Thomas Wilbraham in 1630 that he 'had from Mr. Richard Egerton a Lease of Lands in Shocklach for 10 yeares to begin 2 February 1630'.[102] These texts were intended to accompany the account books and legal documents held by the family. Neither text replaced the other.

These documents could also record the changes made to estates so future generations could date repairs and expansions and estimate when they would need to repair or fix their households. In the Wilbraham family diary, William Wilbraham noted that 'the buyldyng of my howse dyd begynne in Februari Anno 1575'.[103] His grandson Thomas recorded renovations undertaken in 1622, and wrote 'Memorandum that the 26 of June 1622 I began to make the 2 studies over the Buttry, & other alterations in my house'.[104] Thomas made several changes to his family properties, including the building of a new mill and new wainscoting in the dining room in 1629.[105] In the Reynall family of Ogwell diary, Sir Thomas Reynell – who kept the family diary from 1578 until his death in 1618 – recorded that in 1600 he 'fynished wallinge my court walls…[and] hedgeinge my orcharde'. More walls were built near the mill next to the highway in 1601.[106] His son Richard noted that in 1620, he 'poynted and roughcasted all my mansion house and shined the wall above the crosse gutter of lead, in the kitchen courte & som parte towards the green courte'.[107] Robert Furse made extensive note of the changes he made to the house at Moreshead, both architecturally and in its furnishings.[108] In addition to demonstrating the virtues of prudence, foresight, and good husbandry on the part of the said landholders and renovators, this kind of information was inherently useful to the subsequent generations in understanding their day to day lives and their homes.

[102] CUL Buxton Papers 96/15; BL Add MS 38599; CRO, DDX210/1, fol. 18r.
[103] CRO DDX210/1, fol. 2r.
[104] CRO DDX210/1, fol. 16v.
[105] CRO DDX210/1, fol. 17v.
[106] DHC 4652M/F/5/1, p. 14.
[107] DHC 4652M/F/5/1, p. 22.
[108] DHC D2507, fols. 43–44.

Women managed the home and its day-to-day activities, but it was the responsibility of men to maintain its structures and to manage its holdings. Virtues were very well and good for encouraging men to be the best providers they could be but fulfilling the more mundane realities of that role required something more useful than ideals up to which one could live.

These texts were also intended to be passed down from fathers to sons, or to sons-in-law when land was inherited by heiresses and brought into their husband's family. There is ample evidence that the intended and actual audiences for these documents were sons. Family diaries such as those held by the Wilbraham and Reynell families were kept by subsequent generations of patriarchs for centuries. Robert Furse's memoir was directed to 'hys heres…and to there sequele', and he explicitly requested that they continue his record. He asked of his sequel 'that you and everyche of you do from tyme to tyme safelye kepe and mentayne this presente bocke or some other bowcke sette forthe for the same purpose'.[109] The text shows signs that subsequent generations heeded his request and made notes in the document.[110] His son John Furse for example, noted the births of his daughter Elizabeth in 1604 and of his son in 1606. A later descendent noted the birth of their daughter Elizabeth in 1688. This late seventeenth-century Elizabeth was the sole heir of her father John Furse and it appears that she took the manuscript with her when she married; she or her husband recorded the births of their ten children in the early eighteenth century.[111] Richard Wilton's son inherited his father's remembrance book upon his death in 1637 and constructed a selective table of contents of his father's 'particular remembrances'.[112] The intention of passing down information to one's successors for posterity also explains why textual monuments were created in family bibles. John Norgate and Philip Skippon both wrote their monuments on the

[109] DHC D2507, fol. A.
[110] DHC D2507, fol. A.
[111] These later entries are recorded on the front endleaves of the manuscript. DHC D2507.
[112] CUL Buxton Papers 96/16, p. 189.

flyleaves of their bibles.[113] Family bibles were inherited heirlooms, and particularly fine copies could also be displayed within the public spaces of the home. By inscribing their memorials in their bibles, Norgate and Skippon were ensuring that the next generation would remember their predecessors. In providing textual monuments that were useful and inherited from one generation to the next, these patriarchs were fulfilling their role as providers for the present and the future.

The forms of writing that informed the creation of textual monuments and the spaces in which they were constructed were often profoundly masculine in nature, and thus fell under the purview of mature men. The records of births and baptisms made by several men in their textual monuments were very similar in form to those of church registers. In smaller, rural parishes where the community may have lacked a dedicated clerk or scribe for parochial records, the local churchwardens, a position often filled by the community's elite and respectable men, would often be responsible for keeping those documents. Some men accessed the biographical information of their ancestors or even of themselves from these documents. For example, Lancelot Rydley wrote 'Memorandum I fonne in the churche booke of Elye my Christnynge to be the thirteth daye of Octobre in the yeare of our lord god, a thowsande, five hundreth fortie fower (1544) and my Brothers christinge was in octobre next followinge Anno Domini 1545'.[114] Women may have been granted access to these documents but they certainly fell much more comfortably within the public office-holding world of men. Legal documents naturally featured heavily within the monuments erected by the likes of Robert Furse, who regularly referred to those in his possession when he was writing his monument. For example, Furse noted that a distant relative held part of the property of Bromeham in Nymett Regis by deed as his grandfather's tenant.[115] References to deeds, as well as several other documents such as poll deeds, books of surveys, court rolls, leases, and others,[116]

[113] NRO MC 175/1/1–4; SRO 613/733.
[114] BL Add MS 44062, fol. 18r.
[115] DHC D2507, fol. 11.
[116] See 'writings' in the subject index in Furse, 'Robert Furse', p. 206.

suggest that Furse had access to these documents to inform his narrative. Thomas Wilbraham also used legal documents such as leases to record lands leased in 1630.[117] As we will see below, women could use these documents but because legal documents were fundamental to masculine spheres of the law, inheritance, and public life access to them was somewhat gendered.

Funeral sermons, arguably the most popular form of textual monument to emerge in the post-Reformation period, were also produced within a masculine sphere. Only men could preach and be ministers and these monuments were inherently public. They would have been heard by women, some of whom would have taken notes, and Stephen Denison drew upon Elizabeth Juxon's own spiritual diary to compose his commendation of her life in her funeral sermon. However the facilitators of public commemoration in this form were men.[118] The emphasis on the good death was a prominent part of funeral sermons and made its way into secular textual monuments such as those written by Richard Wilton about his wife and his son, and by Thomas Wilbraham in his description of the death of his eldest son from a fever in 1633.[119] This good death is alluded to by the admonition that Richard, Thomas's twelve-year-old son gave him on the deathbed. Wilbraham wrote 'God give me much comfort of the rest of my children, and grand that I may be bettred by afflictions, which was his [Richard's] owne prayer in his sicknes'.[120] Elements found in funeral sermons could make their way into other texts. Many of the forms of writing from which early modern writers drew inspiration were documents that were written by men, for men, or for masculine purposes and spaces. These textual monuments, then, were exercises of masculinity. In writing their monuments, these men were *being* mature men. Text was not simply a site of self-fashioning where they constructed their identities. The action of 'monumenting' in writing was a

[117] CRO DDX210/1, fol. 18r.
[118] Stephen Denison, *The monument or tombe-stone: or, A sermon preached at Laurence Pountnies Church in London, Nouemb. 21. 1619 at the funerall of Mrs. Elizabeth Iuxon…* (London, 1620).
[119] CUL Buxton Papers 96/15, flyleaf 2v, p. 128; CRO DDX210/1, fol. 18v.
[120] CRO DDX210/1, fol. 18v.

manly act, and part of a series of masculine expectations such as the engagement in justified violence, marriage, procreation, provision, and community leadership. The preservation of the past for posterity was yet another responsibility of men. They were providing for the future, using masculine textual forms. Textual monuments in the post-Reformation period, then, were fundamentally gendered.

Women and Textual Monuments

The argument that textual monuments of the post-Reformation period were gendered masculine naturally raises questions about women's writing and its relationship with masculinity and monumentality in early modern England. The study of women's writing has expanded exponentially particularly in the last thirty years of scholarship, and readers familiar with this work may find this argument at odds with that body of work. It is not my contention that women did not write textual monuments in the form of family histories, memoirs, and other texts; clearly women were interested in the construction of these texts. Katharine Hodgkin has argued that seventeenth-century family histories offered women an opportunity to engage in historical writing. Excluded from the humanist education that informed the writing of history, a genre that became increasingly exclusionary over the course of the seventeenth century, and barred from accessing achives, family history suited women's traditional roles as the oral keepers of genealogical and folkloric information.[121]

However, the archives suggest that men shared a similar interest in family history and its keeping, particularly in textual form, and so the emphasised 'feminine' nature of family history writing needs some further interrogation, especially since women's engagement with writing was often seen as transgressive, particularly when it was engaged with in a public manner.[122] Greater scrutiny of some examples of the canon

[121] Katharine Hodgkin, 'Women, Memory, and Family History', in *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Erika Kuijpers et al. (Leiden, 2013), pp. 297–313.

[122] On the lack of social approval for women writing, particularly publicly, see Daniel Woolf, 'A Feminine Past?', p. 646; Catherine Sharrock, 'De-ciphering Women and De-scribing Authority: the Writings of Mary Astell', in *Women, Writing, History 1640–1740*, eds. by Isobel Grundy and Susan Wiseman (London, 1992), p.109–124; Valerie Rumbold, 'The Jacobite Vision of Mary Caesar', in

of seventeenth-century women's life writing suggests that these women undertook what was largely a masculine endeavour. These women were often preoccupied with the same kinds of information that men were interested in recording and perpetuated the concepts, themes, ideas, and motivations that underpinned the commemoration of mature masculinity. The following discussion will focus on Lady Anne Clifford's 'diaries' and Lady Mary Honywood's 'Life' of her father and will also include some consideration of the memoirs of Anne Fanshawe, Lucy Hutchinson, and Margaret Cavendish.[123]

In their writing, these women were fundamentally concerned with the commemoration of the mature, masculine ideals of their husbands and/or fathers,[124] the births and deaths of family members, particularly children and grandchildren, and inheritance. In her description of her father's life written in 1635, Lady Mary Honywood attributed several masculine virtues to her late father, Thomas Godfrey. She noted how he increased the value of his estate from the £400 per annum he inherited from his father as a minor to over £1200 per annum 'through God's blessing & his owne industry, not by using usury or oppression, neither by penuriousnes & close-handednesse…that hee had not one peece of land that could cry against him for restitution'.[125] He was also an excellent father to all his children, and Honeywood wrote that 'In all our breeding hee shewed piety to God, love and bounty to us'.[126] She described the relationship her father had with his three sons, all

Women, Writing, History 16401740, eds. by Isobel Grundy and Susan Wiseman (London, 1992), pp. 178–199; Natalie Zemon-Davies, 'Gender and Genre: Women as Historical Writers, 1400–1820', in *Beyond their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past*, ed. Patricia H. Labalme (New York, 1980), pp. 153–182.

[123] Katharine Hodgkin has examined Anne Clifford, Lucy Hutchinson, and Anne Fanshawe as women writers of family histories. This analysis qualifies some of her assertions of women as keepers of memory. See Katharine Hodgkin, 'Women, Memory, and Family History', in *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Erika Kuijpers et al. (Leiden, 2013), pp. 297–313.

[124] On the presence of ideals of elite masculinity in the writing of elite women, see Gabriele Rippl, '"Merit, Justice, Gratitude, Duty, Fidelity": Images of Masculinity in Autobiographies of Early Modern English Gentlewomen and Aristocracy', in *Constructions of Masculinity in British Literature from the Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. Stefan Horlacher (Basingstoke, 2011), pp. 69–88.

[125] Bodl. MS Rawlinson.D.102, fol. 4.

[126] Bodl. MS Rawlinson.D.102, fol. 7.

of whom were born to different wives as one of unity and without favouritism. He had treated his sons equally 'in his affection, their education or esposalls', and noted that her father had sought brides of equal standing for his sons to marry, had given each wife equal jointures and so, 'in his esteeme an in their owne opinions they were all as one'.[127] Regarding his death in February 1624 after some mental and physical decline, Honeywood wrote that 'in this distresse God enriched his soule with a great mesure of Christian patience to support the troubles bouth of his body and mind…his faith assured him of the Gift of God even Eternal life though the merits of Jesus Christ. Hee breathed out his soule in that prayer our Saviour sanctified with his owne lipps'.[128] The life and death of Thomas Godfrey recorded by his daughter fits many of the ideals of provision, prudence, fatherly care, and a good death that were highly esteemed in early modern culture.

Anne Clifford too used gentlemanly ideals in her records of the lives of male relations. Those familiar with the men in Anne's life will know that to say she was generous with her estimation of their characters would be the understatement of the seventeenth century. Anne's father, Henry Clifford, entailed the Clifford estate away from Anne and triggered the forty-year-long legal dispute she undertook to get it back. Her first husband Richard Sackville, the Earl of Dorset, gambled away most of his own inheritance and had sights on her inheritance. Her second husband, the absentee and selfish Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, virtually abandoned Anne for the majority of their marriage and wanted her daughter Isabella to marry one of his sons to secure his family's access to Isabella's substantial dowry of £5000. Yet the description of Henry Clifford is 'practically hagiographic'[129] in Clifford's Books of Record, or 'Great Books', and she was very diplomatic in her description of her husbands at their deaths. Anne described Richard Sackville as, 'in his own nature, of a just mind, of a sweet disposition and very valiant in his own

[127] Bodl. MS Rawlinson.D. 102, fol. 8.
[128] Bodl. MS Rawlinson.D. 102, fol.24.
[129] Peter Salzman, 'Anne Clifford: Writing for Oneself, Writing for Others', *Parergon* 27 (2010), pp. 137–138.

person; he had a great advantage in his breeding, by the wisdom and devotion of his grandfather, Thomas Sackville, who was then held one of the wisest men of that time'.[130] Of the even more disappointing Philip Herbert she noted that he was 'he was of a verie quick apprehension, a sharp understanding, verie crafty withall, and of a discerning spiritt'.[131] He was also 'one of the greatest men of his time in England in all respects, and was generallie throughout the Realme very well beloved'.[132] Herbert, however, could not escape some posthumous criticism from Clifford; she noted that he was 'no scholler at all to speak of' and 'extremely chollerick by nature'.[133] Despite their shortcomings, Anne found something ideal to say about all these men who, in life, had not necessarily lived up to masculine ideals.

Clifford recorded the births of her children, her grandchildren, and her great-grandchildren in her diaries, particularly those kept in the Great Books from 1650–1675. For example, in her entry for 1654 she noted that 'I had the joyfull newes how that on the second day of this September (being a Saturday) my Grandchilde the Lady Margarett Coventry, wife of Mr. George Coventry, was delivered of her first Childe, that was a sonne…Which Childe was christened the seventeenth day following (being a Sunday) by the name of John. This being the first Child that made me a Great Grandmother, which I account a greate Blessing of God'.[134] Honywood focused her account on her father instead but appended to her manuscript is a list of her husband's siblings and their births and the births of her children written by her husband.[135]

Inheritance was, of course, a primary concern of Anne Clifford's, and the diaries from 1650–1675 refer to her inheritance and its improvement substantially. She frequently referred to the first time relations came to visit her in the North, and

[130] Anne Clifford, *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. D.J.H. Clifford (Stroud, 2009), p. 92.
[131] Clifford, *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, p. 112.
[132] Clifford, *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, p.112.
[133] Clifford, *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford,* pp. 111, 112.
[134] Clifford, *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford,* p. 128.
[135] One of the entries refers to a miscarriage by 'my lady' and the hand is different from the rest of the manuscript.

the text is peppered with thanksgiving to God for her inheritance. For example, she notes that when her daughter Isabella and her family came to visit in 1654, this was 'the first tyme that I ever saw my Daughter of Northampton or her Lord or their Child here att Skipton. And the first time that I ever saw this younger daughter of myne of any Childe of hers in any of the lands of myne Inheritance'.[136] Like many of the men mentioned above, Clifford also noted her extensive renovation of her properties, several of which, like Skipton Castle, had been destroyed in the civil wars. Of particular note is the rebuilding of the castle at Pendragon, which in 1660, Anne noted had been 'layne waste (as it appears by manie Records in Skipton Castle before the late Civill Warres) ever since the time of King Edward the 3rd… it was soe well repaired by mee that on the 14th Octobre in the yeare following I lay there for three nights together, which none of my Auncestors had done since Idonea, the younger sister to Isabella de Viteripont'.[137] Clifford's improvement projects, which also included local churches, mills, and almshouses, not only restored her inheritance to what it once was before the wars, but in fact in the case of Pendragon, improved it far beyond living memory. Her concern regarding inheritance is also reflected in her joy for the births of male descendants. In 1659, she said it was a 'Blessing to have two male children borne into the world of the generation of my Bodie'.[138] As the sole heir of her father, and the mother of only two surviving daughters, the need for male progeny to continue the family lineage was especially important. Honywood was also fundamentally concerned with inheritance as well; her text is a defence of her father's reputation, which she believed to have been slandered and disregarded in an inheritance dispute between her brother Richard Godfrey, and the children of her deceased elder brother Peter, their mother, and her second husband. In many

[136] Clifford, *Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, p. 126.
[137] Clifford, *Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford,* p. 150.
[138] Clifford, *Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford,* p. 148.

respects, women writers were recording things that were of similar concern to their male counterparts.

Rippl argued that women's writing was transgressive, which is why they wrote about the men in their lives in such exemplary terms.[139] The argument that women's engagement with life-writing or historical writing was viewed as transgressive is a predominant thread in the literature on women's writing in early modern England.[140] Recently, Margaret Ezell has challenged this narrative, and has argued that the ample evidence of women's writing in domestic papers, including letters, spiritual diaries, and funeral sermons adapted from women's life writing suggests that women were very much a part of early modern writing culture.[141] However, the types of writing Ezell examined were not primarily intended to be commemorative in nature and I contend that the commemoration in textual form was a highly masculine enterprise. Spiritual diaries were used for the personal cultivation of piety, and while collections of letters could become commemorative or communicate information about commemoration, the primary functions of letters were communication and rhetorical performance. A possible exception was perhaps life-writing gleaned for funeral sermons but as discussed above, sermons were masculine texts in their final form. If the form and function of these texts were cultivated by masculine interests for masculine interests, and if writing was transgressive, and thus an inherent risk to the reputation of these women – why do they write? Elite women such as Anne Clifford had some protection of their

[139] Rippl, 'Merit, Justice, Gratitude', pp. 83–84.
[140] On the lack of social approval for women writing, particularly publicly, see Daniel Woolf, 'A Feminine Past?', p. 646; Catherine Sharrock, 'De-ciphering Women and De-scribing Authority: the Writings of Mary Astell', in *Women, Writing, History 1640–1740*, eds. by Isobel Grundy and Susan Wiseman (London, 1992), p.109–124; Valerie Rumbold, 'The Jacobite Vision of Mary Caesar', in *Women, Writing, History 16401740,* eds. by Isobel Grundy and Susan Wiseman (London, 1992), pp. 178–199; Natalie Zemon-Davies, 'Gender and Genre: Women as Historical Writers, 1400–1820', in *Beyond their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past*, ed. Patricia H. Labalme (New York, 1980), pp. 153–182.
[141] Margaret J.M. Ezell, 'Domestic Papers: Manuscript Culture and Early Modern Women's Life Writing', in *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England*, eds. Michelle M. Dowd and Julia A. Eckerle (London, 2007), pp. 33–48.

reputation by virtue of their rank but given the moral double-standard most early modern women faced a greater motivation to engage in transgression may be needed.

One possible but tenuous explanation can be offered. In the cases of Clifford, Hutchinson, Fanshawe, Cavendish, and Honywood there were no men able or available to carry out the necessary masculine task of recording the past in writing for posterity. This allowed these women to enter what was a predominantly masculine enterprise out of duty to family. I suggest that when these women wrote commemorative textual monuments, their writing was not transgressive because they were filling a void and appropriating the language and themes that were important to men's textual monuments.

Ultimately, these women were reinforcing the patriarchal commemorative culture in which they lived. Elite women like the aristocratic and gentry women examined here buttressed patriarchal interests in the early modern period. To say so should not be read as a denial of their agency, but rather an acknowledgement that women of power have historically benefitted the most from participation in patriarchies across time and space, or put another way, have often faced less oppression or danger due to status and rank. It was in their best interest to promote and protect the hegemonic masculinity of their fathers, husbands, and sons. Moreover, it was expected of women to support these interests according to the virtues and values of their own gender. In entering the masculine sphere of textual commemoration when patriarchs were unable to do so, these women were acting on the feminine ideals of filial and spousal duty owed to men.

These women were familiar with these masculine forms of writing through inheritance, and likely through family reading, even if they were not expected or encouraged to participate in textual monumentality directly. It has been argued that Clifford's entire writing corpus was written for posterity.[142] Her body of work,

[142] See Salzman, 'Anne Clifford', p. 128. It was first proposed by Aaron Kunin, 'From the Desk of Anne Clifford', *ELH* 71 (2004), pp. 587–608; Mihoko Suzuki, 'Anne Clifford and the Gendering of History', *Clio* 30 (2001), pp. 195–230; Susan Wiseman, *Conspiracy and Virtue: Women, Writing, and*

particularly the Great Books, were not only an assemblage of documents amassed by her and her mother to support her inheritance claim legally, but also a celebration of her triumph in governing vast swaths of the North through her estate. It is a monument to her and her ancestors for her descendants.[143] Anne was able to do this, or indeed driven by necessity to do this, because there was no male heir to do the work instead, leaving her to monument as the last Clifford. Like the large monuments erected by men who died without issue as military men,[144] being the last of the line was a motivation to leave a large monument for posterity, as the great Clifford estate inevitably broke up.

A similar argument can be made for the autobiographical writings of Margaret Cavendish. Appended to the publication *Natures Pictures* (1656) is her 'true Relation of my Birth, Breeding and Life'. Part of that text's purpose was to challenge rumours and slander that was circulating about Cavendish and the quality of her writing as she noted in the epistle that precedes the text,[145] but it was also something that was supposed to preserve Cavendish for fame. The dedication of the whole book states to the reader that 'I hope you'll like it, if not, I'm still the same, Careless, since Truth will vindicate my Fame'.[146] Cavendish hoped for fame from her literary career. Beyond the fact that even early modern women could aspire to greater contributions to society than motherhood, the fact that Cavendish was unable to bear children and the security of her husband's line by the children of his first

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Politics in Seventeenth-Century England (Oxford, 2006), pp. 80–93; Anne M. Myers, 'Construction Sites: The Architecture of Anne Clifford's Diaries', *ELH*, 73 (2006), pp. 581–600; and Megan Matchinske, 'Serial Identity: History, Gender, and Form in the Diary Writing of Lady Anne Clifford', in *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England,* eds. Michelle M. Dowd and Julia A. Eckerle (London, 2007), pp. 65–80.

[143] Of course, the commemorative function of the text is only possible after she inherited her lands in 1643. Before that the Great Books are primarily a legal archive. Texts can change in purpose over time.

[144] See Sherlock, 'Militant Masculinity', pp. 131–152.

[145] For the apologetic rhetoric of Cavendish's 'autobiographical' writings see Margaret Reeves, 'Writing to Posterity: Margaret Cavendish's "A True Relation of my Birth, Breeding and Life" (1656) as an Autobiographical *Relazione*', *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 34 (2011), pp. 183–206.

[146] Margaret Cavendish, *Natures pictures drawn by fancies pencil to the life written by the thrice noble, illustrious and excellent princess, the lady Marchioness of Newcastle* (London, 1656).

marriage meant that Cavendish had to make sure she would be remembered for posterity through her work and her biography.

The lack of fathers to instruct their sons was precisely the impetus for the memoirs written by Lady Anne Fanshawe in 1676, a decade after the death of her husband, a Royalist supporter. She specifically addressed her memoirs to her son because his father had died when he was less than a year old.[147] Lucy Hutchinson, the wife of the Parliamentarian army officer, Colonel Hutchinson, penned her *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* after his death in 1664 to clear his name for posterity and after their only surviving son had been disinherited.[148]

Lady Honywood had living brothers, Richard and Thomas, but they were heavily embroiled in inheritance disputes with the sons of their deceased elder brother. Of great offence to Honywood was the lack of consideration the disputes showed for other 'commands' regarding inheritance insisted upon by her father, but also for the lack of memorial to either her father or her elder brother. Honywood noted that 'they both have line now eleven yeares without soe much as a stone or any memoriall of them'.[149] When she wrote of her father's place in heaven, she noted that he 'now peaceably enjoy's [sic] an inheritance immortall that none can deprive him of, his body shall bee united to it, and be glorious, tho it yet remaine as unregarded as his Commands'.[150] Thus, Honywood set out to do what her sister-in-law ought to have done, and what her brothers and nephews had neglected to do, which was to create a monument to the posterity of her father, and to set the record straight regarding the inheritance of his estate. She does this as 'an obliging child', fulfilling

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[147] See Ann Fanshawe, *The Memoirs of Ann Lady Fanshawe*, edited by Herbert Charles Fanshawe (London, 1907); and Peter Davidson, 'Fanshawe [née Harrison], Ann, Lady Fanshawe (1625–1680), Autobiographer', *ODNB*, accessed 5 January 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9146

[148] David Norbrook, 'Hutchinson [née Apsley], Lucy (1620–1681), Poet and Biographer', *ODNB,* accessed 5 January 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14285.

[149] Bodl. MS Rawlinson.D. 102, fol. 27.

[150] Bodl. MS Rawlinson.D. 102, fol. 25.

filial duty.[151] The text is dedicated to her own children and to her nephews by her brother Thomas, and she wrote it for their 'ensample and imitation… being a grateful recordation of Gods enlarged blessings, & your grandfathers religious care and pious industry'.[152] Without their grandfather present, and without suitable monuments for her sons and nephews to reflect on, Honywood sought to create one herself. Women were involved in textual monument-making, but they undertook the work when no patriarch or heir was able to do so. When they did write, they often continued to write about the types of things that were important to mature men.

These women by and large appropriated masculine interests and purposes in their texts as monument makers, but their writing also exhibited some distinctively feminine textual phenomena identified by feminist scholars as well. For example, women tend to write more about women, their lives, and their concerns. As Mihoko Suzuki has demonstrated, Anne Clifford was careful to construct rich biographical texts of her female relations in addition to her male ancestors in her Great Books.[153] Women paid more attention to the lives of women in their texts for better or for worse. Ann Fanshawe and Lucy Hutchinson appended life-writing detailing their own lives to those of their husbands, and Mary Honywood paid enormous attention to the life of her brother Peter's widow.

Honywood condemned her sister-in-law, who became Lady Hamon following her second marriage, for not fulfilling her duties as widow to Honywood's brother and her father-in-law. She also held Lady Hamon responsible for marrying a man that had corrupted Honywood's nephews and pitting them against their uncles. In fact, the entire final legal episode between Honywood's brothers and her nephews is labelled as 'Lady Hamons second widowhood' in Honywood's manuscript; it was an event that Honywood connected to her sister-in-law and organised according to her life.[154] Women were also more likely to engage in life writing, particularly that

[151] Bodl. MS Rawlinson. D. 102, title page.
[152] Bodl. MS Rawlinson. D. 102, fol. 1.
[153] Mihoko Suzuki, 'Anne Clifford and the Gendering of History'.
[154] Bodl. MS Rawlinson D. 102, p. 39.

which was commemorative in nature, when they were constructing what literary scholars refer to as 'defence narratives'.[155] Josephine Donovan asserted that

> given the taboo against women making public utterances, nearly all women's nonfictional writing in English in the seventeenth century contains a defense of the practice. Yet since women's reputations – their honor – was a vital (perhaps *the* vital) component of their social capital, women felt compelled to tell "all the world" their side of the story when defamed or maligned.[156]

Anne Clifford's books of record started as an archive of the legal defence of her inheritance rights. Lucy Hutchinson and Anne Fanshawe wrote their husband's biographies to tell the 'truth' about their lives and to respond to public criticisms and persecutions. Fanshawe's husband was a prominent royalist leading the Fanshawes to spend the 1650s on the continent in exile, and Lucy Hutchinson's husband was a parliamentary army officer and was involved in the regicide of Charles I. Mary Honywood's manuscript was 'dedicated (by an obliged child) to the vindicating of his honour and reputation against the envious calumnies of Injurous Detractors'.[157] As discussed above, Margaret Cavendish's record of her life was a response to criticisms directed at her audacity to engage in public discourse as an author.

Defence of reputation – be it their own or that of their male relations – in commemorative texts appeared to be a particularly feminine experience of commemorative writing. This textual phenomenon dovetailed with commemorative strategies in funeral monuments. The commissioners of monuments used symbolism, genealogy, and the placement of monuments to assert their particular interests, and by memorialising their kin, these individuals attempted to control, rewrite, and even fabricate their family histories'.[158] Women did leave their marks on textual

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[155] On the connection between women's defence narratives and the rise of the early novel, see Josephine Donovan, '"That All the World May Know": Women's "Defense-Narratives" and the Early Novel', in *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England*, eds. Michelle M. Dowd and Julia A. Eckerle (London, 2007), pp. 169–182.
[156] Donovan, '"That All the World May Know"', p. 168.
[157] Bodl. MS Rawlinson D. 102, title page.
[158] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, ch. 1.

commemoration, particularly in manuscript, but it remained a heavily masculine endeavour.

Monuments in Print: Thomas Bentley's *Monument of matrones* (1582)

Textual monuments written by men did not just appear in manuscript, but also in print. This is most evident in the numerous published funeral sermons that circulated in early modern England, but textual monuments could be constructed in other printed spaces. Print enabled these commemorative and masculine actions to reach a wider audience. The following discussion will focus on one printed monument to

demonstrate how masculinity and monumentality could operate outside kin networks and family history.

The *Monument of matrones* (1582), a behemoth collection of devotional works written by and for women compiled by Thomas Bentley, is a commemorative text when read 'against the grain'.[159] It commemorated Bentley's family and himself as a paragon of governing masculinity. Like John Foxe's *Actes and monuments* (1563), the *Monument of matrones* title plays on the multiple meanings of the word monument. Colin and Jo B. Atkinson were the first to identify Thomas Bentley of St. Andrew Holborn as the author of the text.[160] Bentley married the heiress Susan Maynard of Poplar around 1572, and they had three children together – Hannah, born sometime in 1574, Samwell (1577–1587), and Nathaniel, who died during his birth along with Susan in 1581. The most compelling evidence that the Atkinsons have brought forth to show that Thomas Bentley of St. Andrew Holborn was the author of *The Monument of matrones* is Bentley's use of the initials of family members – namely of his wife Susan and his son Nathaniel – in the prayers found in the fifth lamp, or book, of the text which contains prayers for various 'sorts and degrees' of women. Approximately one third of the text contains prayers related to childbirth. As the Atkinsons explained, Anglican prayers written for personalised use would leave a blank with a 'N' for 'name' or *nomen*. Bentley instead used family initials, evidenced in figure 7:

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[159] Thomas Bentley, *The monument of matrones conteining seven severall lamps of virginitie, or distinct treatises; whereof the first five concerne praier and meditation: the other two last, precepts and examples, as the woorthie works partlie of men, partlie of women; compiled for the necessarie use of both sexes out of the sacred Scriptures, and other approoved authors, by Thomas Bentley of Graies Inne student*... (London, 1582).

[160] See Colin and Jo B. Atkinson, 'The Identity and Life of Thomas Bentley, Compiler of The Monument of Matrones', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31 (2000), pp. 323–348. I have worked extensively on Thomas Bentley's record-keeping habits elsewhere, see Simone Hanebaum, 'Thomas Bentley and "Monumentes of Antiquities worthy memory": History, Memory and Identity in Early Modern England' (M.A. thesis, Simon Fraser University 2014); and Simone Hanebaum, 'Sovereigns and Superstitions: Identity and Memory in Thomas Bentley's "Monumentes of Antiquities"', *Cultural and Social History* 13 (2016), pp. 287–305.

Figure 7: Table of Initials found in Lamp 5[161]

Table 1. Initials in Lamp 5

Page Number	Initials	Context
18 (twice)	M. C.	The sinner in the lamentation.
86	T. B.	The husband (or father) in the voyage by sea.
86	S. B.	The wife (or daughter) praying for the above.
91	T. B.	Husband afflicted.
93	T. B.	Husband delivered from troubles.
126	S. B.	A woman with child.
129 (in two prayers)	R.	Our queen with child.
129	A. P. C. or P.	"Our most deere sister" also in labor.
144	M. B.	Woman in labor.
146	S. B.	Woman in labor close to death.
149	S. B.	Woman at the point of death.
155	S. B.	Woman safely delivered.
159	S.	Infant son.
177	R. B.	Deceased husband of widow.

The initials of S.B., or Susan Bentley, in the prayers of a woman in childbirth and close to death in child birth, fit with the death of Bentley's wife in childbirth with their son Nathaniel in 1582. Similarly, the initial S. could stand for Samwell, an infant son, R.B. for Bentley's father Richard, and T.B. for Thomas Bentley himself. These initials are not just important for identifying Bentley as an author, but also for considering the text as a monument to his wife. The association of his wife's initials with the idealised prayers for women not only associates his wife with the virtue of

[161] Atkinsons, 'The identity of Thomas Bentley', p.339. This table is republished with permission of the Sixteenth Century Journal from 'The Identity and Life of Thomas Bentley, Compiler of The Monument of Matrones (1582)', by Colin Atkinson and Jo B. Atkinson, vol. 31 (2), 2000; permission conveyed through Copyright Clearance Center, Inc.

proper piety, but in turn memorialises Bentley by association as her husband and the book's compiler.

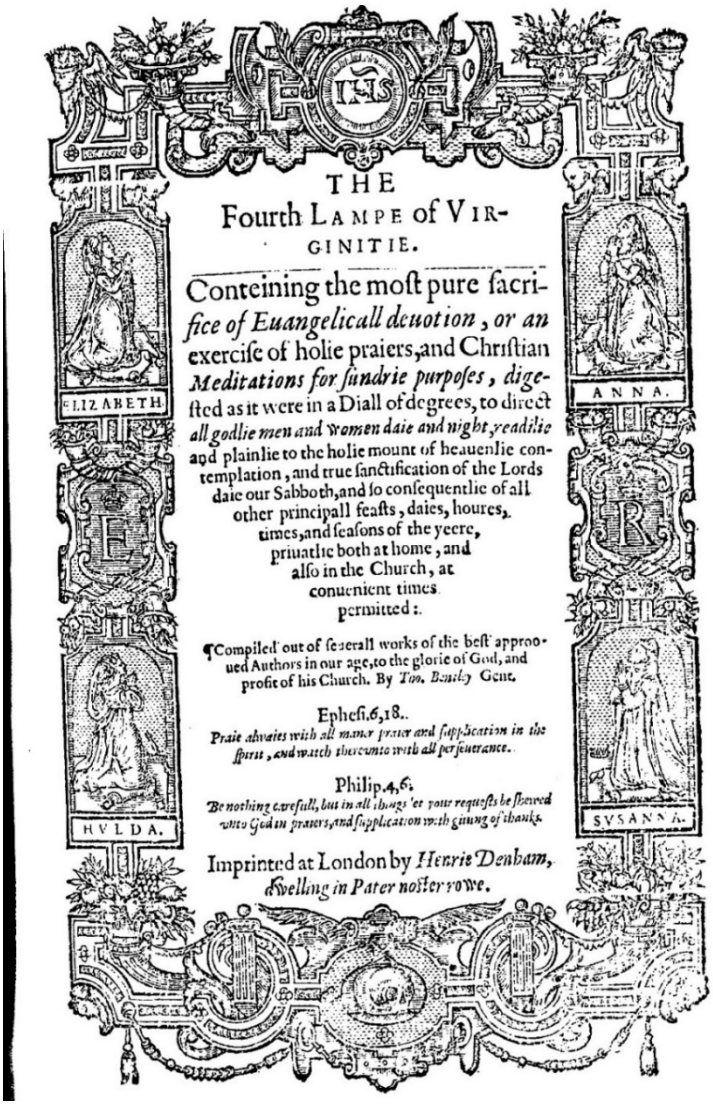
Further monuments to Susan Bentley exist in image and in text on the title page and in the contents of the fourth lamp. As the Atkinsons stated, with 640 pages, the fourth lamp is the longest and central lamp, and contains prayers and meditations intended to be said by men and women on various every-day and special occasions. They argued that 'in a sense, they [the prayers of the fourth lamp] represent the central duty of Christians to be prayerful at all times'.[162] The frontispiece of the fourth lamp follows the basic template of the frontispieces for lamps one to five. Of importance to this discussion is the depiction of four women kneeling in prayer, some with sceptres, others with holy crowns placed in front of them: Queen Elizabeth, the prophetess Huldah, Anna, and Susanna – it is Susanna who is of interest in the present discussion.

The story of Susanna is found in the Book of Daniel, chapter 13.[163] The young, beautiful Susanna was married to a prominent Babylonian named Joakim. Two judges visited Joakim and after seeing his beautiful wife, were overcome with lust. They conspired to sneak into the garden of the house, where they watched her bathe.

[162] This argument may appear to take some licence with Bentley's intentions but it is not as fanciful as it may seem. In his discussion of the unique Gorges funeral monument in Salisbury Cathedral, Sherlock explores the philosophical and sacred meanings of the unusual geometric shapes representing the celestial heavens located at the top of the monument. See Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, ch. 8. For more on numerology, geometry and meaning in early modern texts, see Alastair Fowler, *Triumphal Forms: Structural Patterns in Elizabethan Poetry* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 23–33, and especially ch. 4 entitled 'Numerology of the Centre'.

[163] This text was not considered to be canonical in the English Protestant Church but was part of the Apocrypha. It is considered the thirteenth chapter by the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches. It is labelled 'the Historie of Susanna' in the Geneva Bible (1960), p. 448.

Figure 8: Frontispiece of the Fourth Lamp[164]



The judges ambushed her and threatened to ruin her reputation by saying they had seen her lying with a young man if she did not consent to sleep with them. Susanna refused to commit such a sin, and the lecherous judges brought forward accusations of adultery and fornication against Susanna. Given their position of authority, their

[164] Bentley, *Monument of matrons…* (London, 1582), frontispiece of the fourth lamp, RB 60359, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Reproduced with permission of the Huntington Library. Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Image produced by ProQuest as a part of *Early English Books Online*. www.proquest.com.

accusations went unchallenged, and Susanna was sentenced to death. God heard Susanna's prayers for intervention, and the prophet Daniel was divinely inspired to accuse the judges of a lack of due process. Daniel asked each judge separately under which kind of tree they saw Susanna with her alleged lover. After each judge gave contradictory answers, revealing their deviance, they were put to death. The story exemplified the morality of female chastity over the threat of ruin and death, and is fitting for a book chapter entirely devoted to 'the most pure sacrifice of Evangelicall devotion, or an exercise of holie praiers, and Christian Meditations for sundrie purposes…to direct all godlie men and women daie and night, readilie and plainlie to the holie mount of heavenlie contemplation'.[165] However, there is a text tucked away towards the end of the fourth lamp that suggests a dual meaning to the representation of Susanna in this central lamp.

'Shus-hanna hir Psalter' in the fourth lamp' is one large prayer made up of several subsections or smaller prayers professing sins, asking for grace, mercy, the strength to avoid sins, and protection for those persecuted for their belief in the gospel, among others.[166] The voice of the praying supplicant Susanna is that of a Protestant woman who is a wife and mother. This emphatically rules out the Susanna of the Book of Daniel. Susanna asked God to 'Take from me my stonie, unbeleeving, blind, doubtfull, unfaithfull, and unthankfull hart…my casuall, secure, and impenitent hart take awaie from me'.[167] Alec Ryrie argued that 'the bane of the earnest Protestant's spiritual life was a condition variously described as dullness, hardness, heaviness, dryness, coldness, drowsiness, or deadness'.[168] To be stony-hearted implied being 'blankly indifferent to God', which as Ryrie suggested, was 'implicit in talk of *dryness* and *coldness*' because these were 'precise images, drawn from the humours which, in the classical understanding, constituted the human body

[165] Bentley, *Monument of matrones*, frontispiece of the fourth lamp.
[166] Bentley, *Monument of matrones,* pp. 943–955.
[167] Bentley, *Monument of matrones*, p. 948
[168] Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford, 2013), p. 20.

and the whole created order'.[169] The woman in the psalter was doubtful; references to the uncertainty of her salvation, the central concern of Protestant spirituality abound in the text.

The woman at prayer referred to her 'secure' heart. Security was 'the corrupt doppelgänger of a quality which early Protestant treasured, namely *assurance*…the well-grounded conviction that you are amongst the elect and through grace, a child of God. Security [was] the ill-grounded conviction of the same'.[170] The prescription for a stony or secure heart was to persevere in prayer and meditation, which makes the form of 'Susanna's Psalter' as a prayer, and the location of the text within the central lamp, rather appropriate. The woman also asked God to 'increase' her faith, love, 'a sure hope in me of my salvation', strength to resist the temptation of sin, and 'all other vertues agreeable to a godlie life'.[171] To be Protestant in the early modern period was to be a work in progress spiritually.

If the Susanna in the psalter is a Protestant wife and mother, I argue that the text was written by Bentley's wife Susan.[172] Authorial attributions were fluid in the early modern period, but in the 'Breefe catalog of the memorable names of sundrie right famous Queenes, godlie Ladies, and vertuous women of all ages', located in the epistle to the reader, Bentley marked an asterisk beside the name Susanna, which is the mark for 'the authors of a great part of this booke as shall appeere'.[173] At the very least, Bentley imagined Susanna to be the author of the text. The inclusion of Susanna's Psalter in the *Monument of matrones* was an act of commemoration, and a way to construct an enduring monument to Susan Bentley after death. This identification is admittedly circumstantial. However, given the inclusion of the S.B. initials in childbirth, and the first-person voice of those prayers, the case for this argument is not without evidence. While the prayer presents Susan as a woman

[169] Ryrie, *Being Protestant,* p. 20.
[170] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, p. 23.
[171] Bentley, *Monument of matrones*, pp. 949–950.
[172] The name Susan was the Anglicised version of Susanna (Latin), or Shoshanna (Hebrew).
[173] Bentley, *Monument of matrones*, fols. B7r–B7v.

lamenting her spiritual failings, the articulation of these fears in the form of ardent prayer was a mark of ideal piety. Thus, Bentley presented his wife as a pious example to be followed and a properly pious wife reflected well on Bentley. This mirrors the efforts of seventeenth-century men like Henry Sibthorpe, John Egerton, Roger Ley, and Anthony Walker who memorialised their wives through their posthumous editing of their wives' religious poetry, prayers, and other devotional literary texts.[174]

Furthermore, the commemorative function of Bentley's text was made explicit in the epistle 'To the Christian Reader'. Discussing his impetus to compile his text, Bentley wrote

> 'I could not better spend my time, nor emploie my talent, either for the renowme [sic] of such heroicall authors and woorthie women, or for the universall commoditie of all good christians, than in and by some apt treatise of collection, to reduce these their manifold works into one entire volume, and by that meanes, for to register their so rare and excellent monuments, of good record, as perfect presidents of true pietie and godlinesses in women kind to all posteritie'.[175]

He intended to preserve the godly example of the women in his text for future generations, and this intention extended to the memory of his wife and her Protestant piety preserved in her psalter. He included her in this group of exemplary women to edify others; she was one of the 'notable Queenes, famous ladies, and vertuous gentlewomen of our time, and former ages'.[176]

The commemoration of women also commemorated Bentley as a governing mature man. Bentley explicitly stated one of his intentions in creating his texts was to provide 'the meanes of some plaine forme and easie method of praier and meditation, to prepare for the unlearned at all times'.[177] Considering that the estimated price of

[174] Coolahan, 'Literary Memorialization'.
[175] Bentley, *Monument of matrones*, fol. B1r.
[176] Bentley, *Monument of matrones*, fol. A1v.
[177] Bentley, *Monument of matrones*, fol. B3v.

the text eliminated all but the most wealthy consumers,[178] Bentley's intentions to instruct allegedly ignorant elite (read idle) women to correctly pray and meditate in almost every imaginable time and experience in their life is the epitome of the responsibility of the patriarch of a household. The very intention of the book is to control women and their spirituality. Thus, through the process of commemorating women, Bentley commemorated the ideals of hegemonic masculinity.

Conclusion

Family history and commemoration is typically understood by historians to be the responsibility of women, and often communicated orally to children. By the nineteenth century, 'domestic biographies' and family archives were kept and managed by women as 'the fruit of a certain kind of female middle-class leisure'.[179] However, when this information entered the textual sphere in Tudor and Stuart England, it became the responsibility of mature men. Men recorded the lives of themselves and others in highly gendered terms, with an emphasis on the virtues and ideals associated with mature elite or governing masculinity, such as provision, office-holding, marriage, and fatherhood, and virtues such as duty, honour and prudence.

These virtues and ideals shaped the material they included in their texts, particularly the evidence that they or their ancestors possessed these ideals. The virtue and ideals expressed by wives and children were also memorialised, but much of what was commemorated about them also shed a positive light on men as patriarchs, and further monumented husbands and fathers. Elite masculinity shaped the record of the actions of men, namely dominance and the control of subordinates and acts of violence. The stress on ideals often meant that men had to adjust their

[178] John King estimated that an unbound copy of the book would have cost approximately 8s 6d, which was six weeks wages for an experienced London shoemaker in 1589. see John N. King, 'Thomas Bentley's Monument of Matrons: The earliest anthology of English women's texts', In *Strong voices, weak history: Early women writers and canons in England, France, and Italy*, ed. Pamela Joseph Benson and Victoria Kirkham (Ann Arbor, MI, 2005), p. 224.
[179] Christopher Tolley, *Domestic Biography: The Legacy of Evangelicalism in Four Nineteenth-Century Families* (Oxford, 1997), p. 6.

narratives to conform to the scripts of masculinity created by these ideals when they came up short. Commemoration was more than the preservation of an image of men who conformed to ideals and virtues; the formation of textual monuments was an inherently masculine action. The records and documents used to create textual monuments were created by men in their public offices and occupations, such as the clergy and legal professions, or within the public sphere which was, and remains, a masculine dominated space. While women did indeed create written monuments predominantly in manuscript to their families and themselves, they often did so when male patriarchs and heirs were unable to do so. These women often still focused on the themes and language that mature men used or were perpetuators of patriarchal tropes and interests, although an increased focus on women, and the predominance of 'defence narratives' in women's commemorative writing, left a feminine mark on these masculine spaces. When men's commemorative writing entered the public sphere in the form of print, it amplified the possibilities of memorializing themselves and attempted to create fame, although this was achieved with mixed success.

To monument in the form of text was thus a fundamentally masculine enterprise. Many gendered studies of life-writing have focused on women's writing, and studies of masculinity have predominantly utilised correspondence, conduct books, and legal depositions to understand early modern masculinity. Appreciating texts as sites of commemoration and monumentality circumvents anachronistic and teleological traps which can be created when the concepts of 'autobiography' and selfhood are the root of study. Overwhelmingly, the kinds of documents examined in this study were not intended for internal self-reflection and exploration, but for the outward projection and the reconstruction of the compiler for an audience. Appreciating the gendered aspect of these documents explains their consequent survival in the archives, as they were deemed important for posterity. A gendered approach to memory studies also allows historians to appreciate another facet of post-Reformation Protestant masculinity and provides new sources to consider. Medieval masculine memory was often the responsibility of clerics. Much of the

remembrance of the dead centred around *performance* of the rites of the dead, from the burial Mass to the reading of the bede-roll. The Reformation removed several traditional forms of remembrance which fell under clerical purview. This made secular heads of households responsible for the keeping of family memory.

The early modern textual monument has taken on many forms thus far. We have seen monuments to individuals and families in notebooks, commonplace books, miscellanies, marginalia and paratexts, devotionals, funeral sermons, elegies, epitaphs, and other forms of writing which defy categorisation. Some sources, like Furse's memoir, are entire manuscripts, whereas Richard Wilton's monuments are moments of reflection among fiscal transactions. Many of the sources are products of collecting and commonplacing or drew upon repositories and collections. In the case of Thomas Bentley's *Monument of matrones,* the text itself was conceived of as a collection: Bentley himself referred to his book as 'a domesticall librarie plentifully stored and replenished'.[180] It is now to repositories, specifically archives, to which we turn.

[180] Bentley, *Monument of Matrones*, fol. B2v.

Chapter 4 – Commemorative Archivality

We recall from chapter one that the term 'monument' could refer to documents or records. While documents and records can exist on their own, many were parts of collections of records and documents, or to put it another way, many were part of archives. Many of the textual monuments we have discussed thus far are archival in nature: Foxe's *Actes and monuments,* the family diary of the Wilbraham family of Chester, and Robert Furse's memoirs, to name but a few. These textual monuments are assemblages that create commemorative archives, which are the focus of this chapter.

I adopt the term 'archive' as an expansive, fluid term encompassing a variety of collections of records. I interpret the term 'archive' to refer to a collection of documents or records which can include several manuscripts and codices, as well as collections of documents that can be found in one codex.[1] The size of the amalgamation does not limit its archival nature. I use the term 'record' to refer to 'a broad umbrella under which hover not merely manuscripts, registers, rolls, and charters, but also commonplace and account books, antiquarian transcriptions, ecclesiastical histories, printed tomes, ephemera broadsides, paintings and written traces of oral tradition, rumour and speech'.[2] I understand the intention to leave records and/or collections of records for posterity as a crucial criterion of archivality,[3] regardless of whether the motivation of the creator was

[1] In this I follow the broad, inclusive definition of an archive as 'a whole range of physical repositories and rooms fixed in particular places as well as on the move and were transported in cases and chests' put forth by Alexandra Walsham. See Alexandra Walsham, 'The Social History of the Archive: Record-Keeping in Early Modern Europe', in 'The Social History of the Archive', eds. Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters, and Alexandra Walsham, *Past and Present* 230, supplement 11 (2016), p. 14.
[2] Walsham, 'The Social History of the Archive', p. 17.
[3] This intentionality is one of the fundamental criteria defining an archive in Frederick Buylaert and Jelle Haemer's examination of John of Dadizele's fifteenth-century manuscript 'Register'; John of Dadizele's text was a premeditated fair copy of self-authored and transcribed materials. See Frederik Buylaert and Jelle Haemers, 'Record-Keeping and Status Performance in the Early Modern Low Countries', in 'The

utility, the legitimation of authority, personal and collective identity formation, or any number of combinations of these factors. Fundamentally this intention to leave an archive for posterity, as patrimony, translates the archive into a monument. I understand this intention to be just one of several factors that create the process of archiving, and that the process is fundamentally one of selection, organisation, and narration, or put another way, a process of curation. The archive is also a site of negotiation between collective and personal interests and identities.

My understanding of the term 'archive' is rooted in the historicisation and critical examination of the archive that has gained traction in the research of historians and archivists alike. In the early modern period, the definitions of 'record' and 'archive' were rooted in the legal importance and use of records as evidence of proof, and the need to preserve them in institutions like a chancery or exchequer, but they had other meanings as well.[4] In the nineteenth-century, a Rankeian perception of the archive as a neutral, organically created space or collection used by empirical, objective historians in the creation of the collective memory and identity of the nation-state prevailed. Now scholars have begun to interrogate the social, cultural, political, and historical contexts that shaped record creation, keeping, preservation, and their obliteration.[5] Scholars have

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Social History of the Archive', eds. Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters, and Alexandra Walsham, *Past and Present* 230, supplement 11 (2016), pp. 134–135.

[4] See Walsham, 'The Social History of the Archive', pp. 14–17; Alexandra Walsham, Kate Peters and Liesbeth Corens, 'Introduction: Archives and Information in the Early Modern World', in *Archives and Information in the Early Modern World*, eds. Alexandra Walsham, Kate Peters, and Liesbeth Corens (London, 2018), pp. 12–17. The term 'archive' had metaphorical meanings as well. On the relationship between the meaning of archive and the Ark of the Covenant for example, see Sundar Henny, 'Archiving the Archive: Scribal and Material Culture in Seventeenth-Century Zurich', in *Archives and Information in the Early Modern World,* eds. Alexandra Walsham, Kate Peters, and Liesbeth Corens (London, 2018), pp. 209–235.

[5] Seminal twentieth-century publications that have fundamentally shaped this historiographical intervention include Natalie Zemon-Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, 1990); Ernst Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 1972); Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: The Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London, 1970); Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York, 1972); and Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression,* trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago, 1996). Another

investigated a variety of phenomena that shaped archives, including the role of record-keeping in self-fashioning individually and collectively, and as a site of agency in the negotiation of power and authority in the early modern period.[6] The early modern archive took on a myriad of forms from state archives to private commonplace books and was imbued with meaning that was historically and contextually specific. Its evolution in the early modern period was deeply connected to processes such as the expansion of literacy, the evolving relationship between script and print, increasing engagement with life-writing, the aftermath of religious change, and processes of state formation.[7]

Anthony Grafton's recent study of Matthew Parker's collections and how they operated as library and archive suggests that the codex, whether printed or manuscript, could also be an archive, given that books could contain several kinds of records. Parker's archival codex was the product of processes of selection, translation, and transcription, in which copies were understood to be authentic – regardless of whether that was actually the case or not – to serve the intentions and purposes of the compiler.[8] Also pertinent is Eric Ketelaar's suggestion that modern archives emerged out of an early modern 'patrimony consciousness' which led to record preservation for their cultural value, especially in the case of private archives, or rather the evolution of

useful survey of the development of the historiography of the history of the archives is found in Elizabeth Yale, 'The History of Archives: The State of the Discipline', *Book History* 18 (2015), pp. 332–359.

[6] Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters, and Alexandra Walsham, eds., 'The Social History of the Archive: Record-Keeping in Early Modern Europe', *Past and Present* 230, supplement 11 (2016); Alexandra Walsham, Kate Peters, and Liesbeth Corens, eds., *Archives and Information in the Early Modern World* (London, 2018). These anthologies arose from the proceedings of the 2014 'Transforming Information: Record Keeping in the Early Modern World' conference held at the British Academy.

[7] In addition to Elizabeth Yale's insightful essay cited above, Alexandra Walsham's clear and comprehensive introduction is a must-read for situating the archive more comprehensively in the historiographies of these developments. See Alexandra Walsham, 'The Social History of the Archive: Record-Keeping in Early Modern Europe', in 'The Social History of the Archive', eds. Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters, and Alexandra Walsham, *Past and Present* 230, supplement 11 (2016), pp. 9–48.

[8] Anthony Grafton, 'Matthew Parker: The Book as Archive', *History of the Humanities* 2 (2017), p. 34.

'muniments' to 'monuments'.[9] In this argument, Ketelaar cited Jean-Michel Leniaud's concept of the 'paradigm of patrimony'. Leniaud suggested that patrimony is defined by the value a monument has, which can include the intentions behind its creation and what it contributes socially and culturally; its inheritors and their reception of a monument; the processes and ways that preserve, appreciate or transfer a monument across time and space; and the media that diffuses it in society.[10] Finally, Randolph Head has argued that 'archivality' is a useful concept for characterizing 'collections of documents made up of records related to dominion, possessions, and power'.[11] Head's insistence on power and authority as the defining characteristics of archives needs some qualification. The fact that domestic or family miscellanies were often kept by women, who lacked access to the power and authority exercised by their husbands and fathers, should not negate the archival nature of their collections. However, an awareness of the relationships between authority, power, rank, and identity in the creation and maintenance of archives and the documents and records they hold is crucial.

This chapter will explore the relationship between archivality, memory, and monumentality in three separate contexts. First, it will analyse the documents that make up the parish chest, including the church register and churchwardens' accounts, as well as the parochial 'histories' created from these parish documents to demonstrate how the parish archive became a curated monument to the elite and their authority. In doing so, it will qualify recent claims that documents such as the church register were radically inclusive commemorative spaces.[12] In comparison to archival studies of urban, national,

[9] Eric Ketelaar, 'Muniments and Monuments: The Dawn of Archives as Cultural Patrimony', *Archival Science* 7 (2007), pp. 343–357.
[10] Ketelaar, 'Muniments and Monuments', p. 344
[11] Randolph C. Head, 'Early Modern European Archivality: Organised Records, Information and State Power', in *Archives and Information in the Early Modern World,* eds. Alexandra Walsham, Kate Peters and Liesbeth Corens (London, 2018), p. 32.
[12] See Adam Smyth's study of the church register in Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 171–172.

and personal archives, the parish has received less scholarly attention, which is why this chapter will give it greater emphasis. It will then turn its attention to urban archives with a focused analysis of two manuscripts and archives that were managed by the first chamberlain of the city of Exeter, John Vowell alias Hooker. An examination of these community archives and the men who kept them will demonstrate how personal interests, power, and authority complicated the curation of archives that commemorated communities. This chapter will conclude with analysis of a unique portable archive, the manuscript of the merchant-adventurer John Sanderson, who spent many years travelling between the Ottoman Empire and England at the end of the sixteenth century in association with the Levant Company.

Memory of the Parish

The parish was a fundamental unit of community belonging in early modern England. The parish church was the heart of communal worship, a centre of conviviality with one's neighbours, the site of central life passages, as well as an administrative and political unit for both church and state. It determined eligibility for poor relief, controlled issues of morality, and was a site of the negotiation of power and authority between communities, parish elites, and the Crown and the episcopacy in times of cooperation, defiance, and religious and political upheavals. In other words, the parish was '*the* locale in which community was constructed and reproduced, perhaps even consecrated'.[13] As such, this fundamental community has generated a wealth of scholarship among social and cultural historians of the early modern period.[14] Memory

[13] Steve Hindle, 'A Sense of Place? Becoming and Belonging in the Rural Parish', in *Communities in Early Modern England,* eds. Phil Withington and Alexandra Shepard (Manchester, 2000), p. 96.
[14] The scholarship on the parish has expanded significantly. Notable book-length publications include: Steve Hindle, *On the Parish? The Micro-Politics of Poor Relief in Rural England, c.1550–1750* (Oxford, 2004); N.J.G Pounds, *A History of the English Parish: The Culture of Religion from Augustine to Victoria* (Cambridge, 2000); K.L. French, Gary G. Gibbs and Beat Kümin, eds., *The Parish in English Life, 1400–1600* (Manchester, 1997); Beat Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish, c.1400–1560* (Aldershot, 1996); Susan Wright, ed., *Parish, Church and People: Local*

has increasingly become an area of interest for historians of the parish as the parish church was a site of funeral monuments, heraldry, and other mnemonic objects,[15] and parochial ritual and community events such as the beating of the parish bounds transmitted the community's memory and customs from one generation to the next.[16]

The documents held within the parish chest, the parish archive, were sites of memory and commemoration for communities, and the individuals that kept them. The following section will examine church registers, churchwardens' accounts, and parochial histories. The usefulness of several of these documents in legal matters and in some cases the legal requirement for them to be kept gave these manuscript documents power and thus durability. Unlike pre-Reformation rituals, the documents kept by the parish offered everyone regardless of rank the opportunity to be remembered. This risked subverting the structures of power and authority. Parish documents provided elite men in power with the opportunity to shape communal memory and to memorialise themselves as well. Elite self-fashioning, interests, and motivations allowed for the creation of curated archival monuments.

The commemorative potential of the church register has been the focus of recent studies of memory and autobiography. The keeping of records of a parish's christenings, marriages, and burials was first legally required by Thomas Cromwell's injunctions issued in 1538. Beyond the requirement to record the name of the individuals being

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Studies in Lay Religion, 1350–1750 (London, 1988); and J.H. Bettey, *Church and Community: The Parish Church in English Life* (Bradford-on-Avon, 1979).

[15] See for example, Ian Archer, 'The Arts and Acts of Memorialization in Early Modern London', in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598–1720*, ed. Julia F. Merritt (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 89–113.

[16] Steve Hindle, 'Beating the Bounds of the Parish: Order, Memory, and Identity in the English Local Community, c.1500–1700', in *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Michael Halvorson and Karen E. Spierling (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 205–228; Andy Wood, *The Memory of the People: Custom and Popular Senses of the Past in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2013), ch. 4; Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400–1700* (Oxford, 1994); Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989).

christened, married, or buried and the date, there were very few guidelines as to what information these texts needed to contain. This led to the creation of documents that varied greatly across time and space, with some books being kept with exceptional amounts of extra detail, such as the registers and clerk's memorandum books kept by the parson Robert Heaz and the clerks of the parish of St. Botolph Aldgate in London.[17] The relatively high survival rate of church registers has been largely affected by the Convocation of Canterbury's 1597 constitution which implemented the keeping of vellum, as opposed to paper, copies of all registers from the start of Elizabeth's reign. The cost of vellum and the labour to copy 40 years of records led, however, to shorter, more formulaic entries and the loss of much of the extra information contained in paper registers, which were either destroyed, or allowed to disintegrate.[18]

One unique facet of church registers is the porous boundary between 'official' and private in these documents and the information they contain. Adam Smyth argued that the church register became a 'proto-biographical' document that 'radically' included the lives of everyone in the parish. He also asserted there was an evolution of the register from a 'curt notice' to something more greatly resembling the modern obituary, and that some registers in fact became first-person diaries as the parson recorded the lives of his flock.[19] He asserted that 'if the mechanism for remembrance… works to shore up degree, parish registers disrupt or at least complicate this culture: their inclusion of almost all individuals, no matter the rank, constitutes a radical inclusivity; and their tendency to produce fuller records for marginal figures inverts the stratified remembering of monuments and sermons'.[20] The mnemonic potential of the church

[17] See for example, Will Coster, 'Popular Religion and the Parish Register, 1538–1603', in *The Parish in English Life, 1400–1600*, eds. Katherine L. French, Gary G. Gibbs, and Beat A. Kumin (Manchester, 1997), pp. 94–111.
[18] Coster, 'The Parish Register', pp. 97–99.
[19] Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 159.
[20] Smyth, *Autobiography*, pp. 171–172.

register as a textual monument has been further explored by Andrew Gordon.[21] He argued that parish registers, 'in the fact of their existence, and the data they record but also in the very fabric of their construction and the nature of their composition' bear witness to how the parish register was a site of parish memory, and a 'site of adjustment and accommodation'.[22] Despite the directives addressed to parish parsons and vicars to keep the registers by Cromwell's injunctions, parish registers could be kept by several lay ecclesiastical officials, particularly in London parishes. In St. Botolph without Aldgate, the churchwardens gave themselves greater precedence in the organization of the register than the tenure of the minister.[23] He also noted that the minister of St. Botolph without Aldgate, Robert Heaz, inserted himself into the register through records of his service to his community and thus used the text to create a monument to himself.[24] These commemorative impulses were reinforced by the introduction of the late Elizabethan vellum registers, which enabled parishes to 'demonstrate consistent care in the design of their parish monument' through the insertion of carefully prepared frontispieces and fine binding, marking a 'memorial moment' in which parish registers became textual parochial monuments.[25]

The mnemonic potential of the church register marks a continuation in several respects of pre-Reformation textual forms, content, and commemorative practices. The reading of the registers weekly, briefly required from 1597–1603 by the constitution of the Canterbury Convocation, was 'a communal performance of remembering' that filled the void created between the living and the dead by the abandonment of purgatory.[26] This practice closely resembled the pre-Reformation practice of reading the bede-roll.

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[21] Andrew Gordon, 'The Paper Parish: The Parish Register and the Reformation of Parish Memory in Early Modern London', *Memory Studies* 11 (2018), pp. 51–68.
[22] Gordon, 'The Paper Parish', p. 52.
[23] Gordon, 'The Paper Parish', p. 56.
[24] Gordon, 'The Paper Parish', p. 57.
[25] Gordon, 'The Paper Parish', p. 63.
[26] Smyth, *Autobiography*, p. 191.

The bede-roll was recited annually or in a truncated form weekly, to remember the dead in traditional Christianity to intercede on behalf of the listed souls in purgatory.[27] Here it is crucial to note that the bede-roll was not intended to remember everyone. By the fifteenth century, payments were made on behalf of estates or living family members to record the names of the death on the roll; in Salisbury in 1499–1500 that fee was 40s.[28] Furthermore, the reading of the bede-roll incurred a further cost, and the fee paid to priests for reading the bede-roll rose until the 1530s. In Ashburton, Devon for example, reading the bede-roll cost 8d in 1482–3 and that fee had risen to 3s. 4d. by 1511–12.[29] The bede-roll, like funerary monuments, did not guarantee a permanent form of remembrance. Just as old memorials could be cleared away to make space for new monuments in parish churches, so too the bede-roll could be re-written to include new names and to erase old ones. Chris Daniell notes that in St. Mary-at-Hill in London the bede-roll was rewritten three times in the space of eight years between 1492 and 1500.[30] The bede-roll was exclusive, temporary, and exchanged memory for charity or fees. Similarly, W.E. Tate argued over seventy years ago that there were no medieval parish registers.[31] Instead, Tate noted that 'before the Reformation, monastic houses, especially the smaller ones, and parish priests, had been developing the custom of noting in an album, or on the margins of the service books, the births and deaths in the leading local

[27] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England,* 1400–1580, 2nd ed. (New Haven, 2005), p. 334; and Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002), p. 291.
[28] Chris Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066–1550* (London, 1997), p. 18.
[29] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, p. 18.
[30] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, p. 19.
[31] Will Coster identified the oldest surviving parish register as that of Alfriston, Sussex which was started in 1506, and there are other registers that predate the 1538 Injunction. The strength of Cox's and Coster's argument that the idea for church registers came from the Netherlands is somewhat supported by the fact that Alfriston is a mere four miles from the coastal town of Seaford, Sussex, which was a prominent port in the Southern England in the early modern period and enjoyed greater connections to the continent though maritime commerce.

families'.[32] Tate referred to a long-enduring practice of keeping the *Libri memoriales*, the books of life of monastic communities, which recorded the life events of monastic men and women, their patrons, and some kin networks until the Dissolution. The *Libri memoriales* were also exclusive sites of belonging that memorialised their members, as well as benefactors. At the heart of both mnemonic traditions, the clergy, both secular and regular, were creators and mediators of memory in text through ritualised reading and selective recording.

In contrast, the parish register recorded the names of *all* individuals within the parish. As a legally mandated document, names could not be deleted.[33] The church registers were not conceptualised as documents that were contingent or transitory. They were permanent and the recording of a person's life within the registers was not dependent on a monetary transaction. Although tithing and fees for baptisms, churchings, marriages, and burials continued to be collected, one's place in the register was not intrinsically tied to charity, gifts, or donations to the church. Church registers also fundamentally rejected the ritualistic aspect of clerical monumenting. The register recorded rituals – after all it recorded baptisms, marriages, and burials – but the register itself did not require ritual to fulfil its commemorative function, unlike the bede-roll or the *Libri memoriales*. In its inclusivity both socially and financially, its permanence, and its rejection of clerical ritual, the register undermined many of the memorial characteristics of textual monuments of the pre-Reformation past. Cromwell may not have explicitly intended the church register to weaken these specific mnemonic structures but the outcomes share many characteristics with other policies devised under

[32] W.E. Tate, *The Parish Chest: A Study of the Records of Parochial Administration in England*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 1969), p. 43.
[33] An important caveat to note here is that names became vulnerable to erasure with the introduction of the vellum registers at the end of the sixteenth century. The more durable vellum registers were only required to contain transcriptions of the Elizabethan paper registers. Earlier paper records were thus more vulnerable to the inevitable threats to preservation, including careless discarding after the completion of the vellum register.

Cromwell's evangelical influence in the 1530s, which led to the dismantlement of the cult of the saints and the eventual assault on purgatory that fundamentally altered England's commemorative culture.

Despite the fact that clerical monumenting activity was stripped of its ritual power, the clergy in many cases remained the keepers of parochial memory, not only in the form of church registers, but also in other textual monuments as well. I would thus take Marshall's observation about the relationship between the parish register and the bede-roll one step further and argue that medieval forms of textual commemoration were the natural forms on which clergy drew in assembling their parish registers. This reinforces Will Coster's observation that previous practice by one's predecessors was a determining factor in the organization of parish registers by clergy and other parochial officers.[34] It follows that the *Libri memoriales* and bede-rolls provided the template for the keeping of registers, especially their organization, form, and their content. Secular and regular clergy were either trained to keep these pre-Reformation commemorative texts or were at least familiar with them as forms and templates. Given that the clergymen charged with the responsibility for keeping the register in 1538 were still very much secular clergy in their training and their practice, regardless of the break with Rome, it is unsurprising that they would turn to the forms they were familiar with to create the registers for which they were now responsible. In choosing to model the register on pre-Reformation texts that were inherently commemorative in function, the clergy set the standard for the recording of the Christian life-cycle in the register and ensuring that the mnemonic significance of these texts would be continued by their successors for centuries.

The moments within the Christian life cycle that registers recorded were important for legal uses such as establishing paternity, protecting against consanguinity

[34] Coster, 'The Parish Register', p. 109.

and polygamy, and confirming death for inheritance purposes, but these moments had vitally important symbolic meanings as well. Baptism marked one's entrance into the Christian community since the apostolic Church. With the Reformation, greater responsibility was placed on fathers as the moral and spiritual heads of their families, and there was a greater emphasis on belonging to a congregation of the elect. The public baptism by a (male) minister with the child's father and godparents present was increasingly important in Reformed Protestant communities to enable the child to enter the congregation formally and to ensure its proper, Protestant spiritual upbringing.[35] Marriages marked the creation of households and the maturation of men and women into fully-fledged members of their parishes; often men would not be called to serve their parishes as churchwardens or overseers to the poor until they were deemed to be fully mature, contributing members of the parish as 'chief inhabitants' of the parish. Burials were however the most important moments to commemorate before and after the Reformation, as they marked an individual's entrance into the afterlife, and in the Protestant worldview, their hoped-for salvation by the grace of God.

The commemorative potential of these texts is reflected in the language used by registers themselves. The heading of the burials register for Ardingly, West Sussex reads 'A *remembrance* of all suche as have been buried in the parishe of Erdinglye from the 8 day of Februarie Anno Domini 1558'.[36] The exceptional register kept by the parson of the parish of St. Peter Cornhill, William Averill, is prefaced with a comparison between the registers and the biblical Book of Life:

> This booke containes the names of mortall men
> But thear's a booke with characters of golde
> Not writ with incke with pensill or with pen

[35] See Karen Spierling, 'Father, Son, and Pious Christian: Concepts of Masculinity in Reformation Geneva', in *Masculinity in the Reformation Era*, eds. Scott H. Hendrix and Susan C. Karant-Nunn (Kirksville, 2008), pp. 95–119.
[36] Gerald W.E. Loder, ed., 'Parish Registers of Ardingly, Sussex 1558–1812', *Sussex Record Society* 17 (1913), p. 135. Italics are my emphasis.

Wheare Godes elect for ever are inrolde
The Book of Life; wheare labor thou to bee
Beefore this Booke hath once registered thee.[37]

Peter Marshall has noted that Averill's 'parallel seems intended to extol rather than belittle the importance' of the register.[38] The register was, like the *libri memoriales* and the bede-roll before it,[39] a focal object or *memento mori* on which the living were to reflect as they meditated on their lives and to encourage them to live lives worthy of record in the biblical Book of Life as well as temporal documents. Registers, if not identical to the Book of Life, were in many ways analogous to it. Not all registers laid out the commemorative function of the register as explicitly as the example of the Ardingly burials or the exceptional register of St. Peter Cornhill kept by William Averell (1555–1605), the clerk of the parish, who transcribed the register's early entries until his death in 1605 in the register.[40] But the fact that some registers do articulate these comparisons is a testament to early modern appreciation of the commemorative potential of the registers.

The parish register mandated the commemoration of all members of the parish, regardless of gender or rank. However, the dynamics of power, social hierarchy, and conceptions of belonging and exclusion could undermine the 'radical inclusivity' that Adam Smyth has identified,[41] both within the registers, and within other forms of

[37] Levesons Gower, ed. 'A Register of all the Christninges, Burialles & Weddinges within the Parish of Saint Peeters [sic] upon Cornhill', *Harleian Society Registers* I (1877), prefatory material. For a discussion of the richness of the St. Peter Cornhill material see Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, pp. 292–293.
[38] Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead,* p. 292.
[39] Chris Daniell has discussed the role the bede-roll played in encouraging the living to make the gifts or payments necessary to record their names on it. See Daniell, *Death and Burial*, p. 17.
[40] See Gower. 'The Parish of Saint Peeters upon Cornhill', pp. xi–xii. Averell married his wife in 1578, and the beginning of recording the ages of the deceased is consistent from 1579 to 1605, suggesting that Averell began recording the entries in the register as the parish clerk in 1579 (p. 127).
[41] Smyth, *Autobiography*, pp. 171–172.

parochial textual monuments. The register complicated the role that socio-economic factors played in entitling people to commemoration and their access to commemorative forms. The registers and other documents were kept by the parson, churchwardens, and other individuals of local power and authority who used textual monuments to reassert social hierarchies and degrees of belonging. Steve Hindle has argued that the parish as a place defined geographically and socially became more exclusive in the late Tudor and early Stuart period. He identified five trends that contributed to this: the institutionalisation of poor relief; a more restricted definition of residency within a parish to its settled 'inhabitants'; the restructuring of parochial governance which allowed for the rise of the select vestry where 'chief inhabitants', the most prominent men of the parish, held life-long appointments among a body that administered the parish alongside the incumbent minister; tighter regulation of customary rights; and changing religious policy which 'defined the relationships of parishioners to rituals of Christian fellowship'.[42] The consequences 'ensured that the vision of neighbourliness became fragmented and marginalised, and was perforce restricted to certain degrees and sorts of inhabitants, among whom the habit of political association strengthened the parochial strength of place'.[43] In other words, the 'chief inhabitants' came to see themselves as representative of the parish, and the poor were increasingly marginalised and subordinated in comparison.

The sense of community that increasingly became defined by the better sort in power and its mark on community memory is demonstrated in the extra detail that the church registers hold. Far from disrupting social hierarchy, the register reinforced them through the identification of rank and either the complete erasure of women or their identification by association with their fathers and husbands within the records. In the

[42] Steve Hindle, 'A Sense of Place? Becoming and Belonging in the Rural Parish, 1550–1650', in *Communities in Early Modern England*, eds. Phil Withington and Alexandra Shepard (Manchester, 2000), p. 97.
[43] Hindle, 'A Sense of Place?', p. 109.

Ardingly registers, all baptisms of children are identified in relation to their fathers. Take for example, the baptismal records for the year 1566:

> May [March] 17 Elizabethe daughter of Robert Chesman.
> Apr. 14 Doritie daughter of Markes Gaffe [frenchman].
> June 14 [23] John son of John Bardeii.
> June 25 John son of John Paine [of Lyod].
> Sep. 22 Richard son of William Weller.
> Sep. 29 John son of Richard Gripes.
> Oct. 6 Margaret daughter of John Paine of Hapset.
> Oct. 13 Margaret daughter of Richard Holman.[44]

No mothers are mentioned, despite their considerable role in the creation and gestation of their children. Note also that Markes Gaffe was identified as a foreigner, a Frenchman, and that two John Paines were identified by their residences, which could be used to either differentiate between two men with the same name but could also identify them as men who resided in parts of the parish, or outside of it. A similar trend is seen in the parish registers of St. Peter Cornhill, although not every father is named by his first name. In 1559, Susanne Goodale, 'daughter of Robert' was christened on 9 April, and Henry Averell, the son of John Averell, was baptised on 10 May that year.[45] However, one baby girl named Martha, christened on 20 April, was labelled as *ignoti cognominis*, without a last name, suggesting she was illegitimate.[46] This refusal to provide Martha with a surname not only erased her mother from the record, but also reinforced social taboos around extramarital relations and the social isolation of children that were the result of those intimate encounters. Martha was entitled to be recorded, but her social

[44] Loder, 'Parish Register of Ardingly', p. 3. The material in brackets in the excerpts from the nineteenth-century printed version of the registers by the Harleian Society denote information that was contained in the paper registers but was not included in the vellum Bishop's registers.
[45] Gower, 'The Parish of Saint Peeters upon Cornhill', p. 8.
[46] Gower, 'The Parish of Saint Peeters upon Cornhill', p. 8.

situation was clearly marked out within the register, not simply due to curiosity or interest in recording 'unusual' events, but also to reinforce social conventions.

This social delineation appears most apparent in the burial records where occupations and ranks were listed in the entries. In Ardingly in 1558, it is noted that 'James Shawe, person of Erdinglie [sic]' was buried on 30 October. In 1565, the registers record the burial of 'John Culpeper of Wakehurst, Senior, Esquire, in the Churche & Chancel of Erdinglie'.[47] Later that year, one 'John son of John Gillam, Frenchman of the fornace' was interred on 16 December.[48] Two years later the same John Gillam would lose another son named John, and Gillam was once again identified by his occupation as 'Founder'.[49] In 1591, The following entries were made:

> Mar. 25 Richard Pilbem, Senior
> May 2 Anne daughter of Nicholas Tullye.
> May 30 [25] Mrs Anne Greene, widow of Mr Henry Greene, citizen of London.
> June 9 Thomas Kerbee of Strudgat furnace.
> July 5 one Duke, a mason which wrathe at Wakhurst.
> July 15 James on. of Philleppes, a collier.
> Sep. 5 Franncis son of John Chatfeld.
> Oct. 21 Thomas Standen, a smith.[50]

Anne Greene was identified in association with her husband, and his citizenship of London connoted a higher social rank since he held freedom of the city. Several of the other deceased in 1591 were identified by their respective occupations.

Mentions of poverty also occur in the register and increase in mention after 1597 when poor relief became institutionalised within English parishes. In 1608/9 one 'Joan

[47] Loder, 'Parish Register of Ardingly', p. 136.
[48] Loder, 'Parish Register of Ardingly', p. 136.
[49] Loder, 'Parish Register of Ardingly', p. 136.
[50] Loder, 'Parish Register of Ardingly', p. 141.

Sanders, an old poore woman' was buried on 17 February.[51] In 1610, Widow Pike and John Reading were buried and identified as 'a poore woman' and a 'poore man' respectively.[52] Other forms of status and relationships were recorded in the registers. In 1610/11 the deceased were:

> Jan. 21 Widow Wall, a poore woman.
> Feb. 7 John Wheeler of Liod, Churchwarden.
> Feb. 23 Alexander Paine of Liod.
> Mar. 3 John Adkins, tennant of the said Alexander Paine.[53]

John Wheeler was identified by his officeholding in the parish, implying his place among the 'chief inhabitants' of the parish. John Adkins was identified by his tenant relationship with his landlord Alexander Paine, recording differing statuses among the parish community. Even more detail was recorded during the tenure of the new rector Richard Tenyton who was appointed in 1625 after the death of his predecessor.[54] Under Tenyton's tenure from 1625 until the beginning of the Interregnum, marital status and age became frequently mentioned in entries alongside the long tradition of mentioning rank and occupation. The entries for 1631 and 1632 read:

> 1631.
> July 10 Mary Killingbecke, a Childe.
> Oct. 4 The son of Arthur Tugwell, a chrisome.
> Oct. 6 William Brooker, an old man.
> Dec. 11 William Rowland, a youth.
> Dec. 21 Thomas Infield, a bachelor.
>
> 1632.
> Apr. 5 Mary Allen [widow], an old gentlewoman.
> July 10 John Virroll alias Fairehall, an ancient man.

[51] Loder, 'Parish Register of Ardingly', p. 144.
[52] Loder, 'Parish Register of Ardingly', p. 145.
[53] Loder, 'Parish Register of Ardingly', p. 145.
[54] Loder, 'Parish Register of Ardingly', p. 149.

Oct. 12 Anne Wicker, an olde mayde.[55]

Under Tenyton's tenure few entries did not have social descriptors which signified the deceased's place in the social fabric of the parish.

Similar entries and trends can be found in the parish register of St. Peter Cornhill. As in the case of the registers of Ardingly, the richness of the entries depended greatly on the discretion of the recorder. Nevertheless, William Averell, like his colleagues in Ardingly, recorded a vast array of information that reproduced the social hierarchies and politics of the parish in the register. Selected entries from the year 1584 include:

> September 17 Thursday William Lewkner sonne of Master Edward Lukner Esquire, north isle 26 [years old]
> October 1 Thursday Edward Gold sonne of Master Hugh Gold grocer, one Yeare & half
> November 1 Sonday Thomas Dowle a seriant [sic], of an impostume, pit in the east yard 42 [years old]
> Noember 14 Sat: a still born childe of Jacamine Sadler a harlot, got by one Purret literman
> March 26 Friday an Infant of Jone Percifall [sic] a harlot, servant to William Hartridge, west yard.[56]

Averell recorded people's occupations (and by extension their rank), their ages, causes of death, places of burial, and passed moral judgements and recorded them in the register, evident by the labelling of Jone Percifall and Jacamine Sadler as 'harlots' for having extramarital sexual relations. In a similar vein he passed judgement on one Mandlyn Evans who was buried at the age of 18 on 3 April 1591, calling him a 'rogue'.[57] He passed favourable comment as well; in the entry pertaining to her burial in

[55] Loder, ed. *Parish Register of Ardingly,* p. 150.
[56] Gower, ed. *the Parish of Saint Peeters upon Cornhill*, p. 132.
[57] Gower, ed. *the Parish of Saint Peeters upon Cornhill*, p. 138.

the south chancel on August 1591, Averell described Dina Walthall as 'wif of Master William Walthall, Mercer, a vertuous yong woman, religious and good to the poore'.[58] The centenarian Margery Mane was 'old, yet devout in often hearing the word'.[59]These kinds of details continued until Averell's death in 1605. Some practices changed when his successors kept the register. Ages, for example, cease to be recorded consistently. However, occupations continued to be recorded as well as place of burial within the church. The later clerk chose to record people's area of residence within the parish, and in rare instances he chose to record positive judgment statements. When John Malyn 'Practiconer in Phissicke' was buried on May 25 in 1612, it was noted that he lived in Bishopgate Street and was buried in the north aisle, as well as the fact that the great bell was rung over 6 hours and that he was buried in a coffin. It was also noted that Malyn 'gave 12d every weeke in bread to the poore of this parrish'.[60]

Rank, age, whether one lived one's life charitably or wantonly, and one's spatial claim on parts of the church were integrally tied to ideals of belonging in a community that expected its members to know their place, both geographically and socio-economically, and to uphold the moral expectations and obligations of the community. In recording the information that demonstrated the stratification of society or raised questions of belonging, from the listing of ranks to the omission of mothers from baptism accounts, the men responsible for keeping the parish records recreated the parish in textual form to be remembered. While everyone was required to have their life-course recorded in the registers, the powerful men in authoritative parochial positions *selectively controlled* this narrative. Their marginal notes curated the archive of parochial life. These two registers represent particularly rich and extraordinary examples of this process in a way that is not found in every register. But many across England

[58] Gower, 'The Parish of Saint Peeters upon Cornhill', p. 138.
[59] Gower, 'The Parish of Saint Peeters upon Cornhill', p. 146.
[60] Gower, 'The Parish of Saint Peeters upon Cornhill', p. 168.

record similar information, particularly rank and occupation to varying degrees. The sources analysed here offer mere snapshots of the richness and diversity of the parish register. Nineteenth-century transcripts, like the ones studied here, limit our appreciation of the materiality of the registers; paratextual material and spatial organisation on the page offer scholars even greater potential to appreciate the processes which curate and create the register. Transcripts leave the historian at the whim of the accuracy and interests of the transcriber. Moreover, the diversity of practice that informed parochial record-keeping necessitates the caution of drawing generalisations. Not all parish registers recorded information to the same detail or extent as those of St. Peter Cornhill or Ardingly, and their exceptional nature means that they should not be read as representative of all registers. They are, however, emblematic of the processes that created them. These records suggest that parochial elites corrected the possible disruption of the social order that equal entitlement to remembrance could create. Everyone was to be remembered in the register, but *how* they were remembered was very much subjected to the discretion and interests of the 'monumentors' of the parish.

These selective and commemorative impulses can be found in other forms of parochial documents. Churchwardens' accounts could commemorate individuals selectively. Churchwardens were the officers responsible for the fiscal and administrative maintenance of the church as well as its infrastructure. The fiscal demands of the office meant that officials were often those who were the 'better sort' of the parish and those who could afford the office. In London it was often a civic office that was a prerequisite for those with loftier political ambitions to become aldermen or the Lord Mayor.[61] As such, the churchwardens were some of the most powerful lay

[61] On the functions and status of the churchwardens see especially Eric Carlson, 'The Origins, Functions, and Status of the Office of Churchwarden, with Particular Reference to the Diocese of Ely', in *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520–1725*, ed. Margaret Spufford (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 164–207. Other studies of churchwardens' accounts include Eamon Duffy's seminal work on the parish of Morebath, Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven, 2001); and John

individuals in a parish and were expected to work in cooperation with the incumbent minister. One of the key responsibilities of the churchwardens was to keep the churchwardens' accounts. These recorded the parish's income and its expenses. Methods of keeping these records and the detail of recording varied considerably from parish to parish, and from churchwarden to churchwarden. These records were treated as sites to preserve the personal memory of churchwardens. This is no space here to discuss the use of churchwardens' accounts as sites of memory in depth, but one example from the churchwardens' accounts of the parish of St. Oswald in the city of Chester is emblematic of how these sources could be used in such a manner. In addition to the expected accounts and decisions made in the parish, the pages at the back of the accounts contain a list of past churchwardens in the parish from 1575 to 1608, probably recorded around 1608, perhaps by one of the churchwardens who served that year or the parish clerk.[62] They are listed in pairs by year in two columns in a neat secretary hand. It would be evident to any reader of the accounts who the churchwardens were in any given year; the convention was that wardens would record their names at the start of their account year. There is no practical need for a separate list. Someone wanted to compile the names together, specifically, to identify these men explicitly by their terms in office, and the list in which they appear bears great similarity to the listing of mayors and aldermen that was common to civic chronicles. This *selective* 'chronicling' of churchwardens, in the official documentation of the office serves as a textual monument to their service within the expansive archive of the churchwardens' accounts.

A similarly selective remembrance occurs elsewhere in the accounts. The account book also contains an account of the parish's perambulation of the bounds of the parish in May 1620.[63] This described the route the perambulators took, noting first a

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Craig, 'Co-operation and Initiatives: Elizabethan Churchwardens and the Parish Accounts of Mildenhall', *Social History* 18 (1993): pp. 357–380.

[62] CRO P29/7/2 or MF 108/9, p. 304.

[63] CRO P29/7/2, pp. 316–320.

major landmark or hamlet and describing the route through its surrounding area using references to direction, landmarks, parochial tenements, and properties identified by the name of their owners. One part of the route passed through a 'parte of Newton':

> Item from the said Bach Poole, wee wente alonge the highway that leadeth from the Bach to Newton, namelie through Master Brownes hey Called the White field in Saint Maries parish, and soe to the watercourse that Compasseth our parish from the Bach Poole unto the end of a Closse which is parcell of a Tennement belonginge to Rondle Holliwell of Newton, and is nowe in the occupation of Thomas Chroughtome then after the ned of William Ryders Closse, and soe into the high heywood, and alonge the Perle way, and through Healies Knowle and soe into Sestons Croft, and about the northside of Sestons house, unto Newton Common, from thence alonge the north side of the said Common unto the Corner hedge thereof, and from the said Corner followinge the hedge Northward unto an Ash tree which standeth in the Corner of Master Inces field, and adjoyneth to a Closse belonginge to Master Brocke. Then from the said Ash wee went over crosse the Common towarde the heath house ground, unto a marke made on the Common a litle from the Marlepitt, which is at the end of a Closse belonginge to the heath house Called the Marledihey.[64]

Local memory and knowledge infused the perambulatory experience. It depended on knowledge of who currently leased or owned lands, of specific landmarks, and relational descriptions. The perambulation, Steve Hindle has argued, was fundamentally an exclusive experience as it traced the boundaries that defined inclusion and exclusion. While custom could vary from town to town, who was entitled to perambulate became increasingly debated the sixteenth century. In some places all parishioners perambulated. In others, only the chief inhabitants did so. In some jurisdictions they excluded the poor or circumscribed their celebrations of Rogationtide in efforts to quell the temptation of the poor of neighbouring parishes to take advantage of charity.[65] Given that only twenty-three names are listed as in attendance on the perambulation, and the fact that some of

[64] CRO P29/7/2, p. 317.
[65] Hindle, 'A Sense of Place?', p. 108. See also Nicola Whyte, *Inhabiting the Landscape: Place, Custom and Memory, 1500–1800* (Oxford, 2009); and Nicola Whyte, 'Landscape, Memory and Custom: Parish Identities, c.1550–1700', *Social History* 32 (2007), pp. 166–186.

the names appear both on the churchwardens' list, and are named in the perambulation as property owners, such as William Ince, it seems that St. Oswald's parish was perambulated by the chief inhabitants. Coupled with the translation of the perambulation from an oral, experiential event to a textual narrative in the churchwardens' accounts, this suggests that the symbolism of the perambulation was deeply controlled and regulated by the elites of the parish. The textual preservation of the perambulation in the accounts acts not only as a safeguard against oblivion, but also as a monument to community and to the correct leadership of the parish. Thirty-six years later the parish elites followed the same route as their predecessors and the churchwardens affixed their signatures to note the same, memorialising the continuation of ritual and good husbandry in 1656.[66]

Churchwardens also memorialised themselves in the church registers. As Andrew Gordon has noted in his study of the parish register as a textual monument, the churchwardens of St. Botolph Aldgate recorded their names with greater prominence than the minister.[67] The Ardingly register of burials also noted the name of the parson and the serving churchwardens in four places within the register between the years of 1558 and 1650; the entry for 1615 recorded the names of the parson and the two churchwardens: Richard Kitson, and Abraham Nicholas and Richard Willerd respectively.[68] This process is repeated in 1621, and again in 1633 and 1639. [69] The parish records kept in the London parish of St. Andrew Holborn, which were written out by the churchwarden Thomas Bentley for the years of 1558–1585,[70] record the names of the parson and the churchwardens for every year in the burial registers from 1559

[66] CRO P29/7/2, p. 319.
[67] Gordon, 'The Paper Parish', p. 56.
[68] Loder, 'Parish Register of Ardingly', p. 146.
[69] Loder, 'Parish Register of Ardingly', pp. 148, 151, 152.
[70] LMA P82/AND/B/008/MS04249, fol. 238v.

onward into the 1600s, well after Bentley's death in 1585.[71] The recording of churchwardens' names in the register memorialised their guardianship of the parish.

Churchwardens could also mine the parish sources for which they were responsible to preserve communal memory and to exert their interests in memorialising themselves or selectively memorialising the social order. I have discussed the churchwarden Thomas Bentley and his 'Monumentes of Antiquities', a manuscript recorded in a vestry book and compiled out of the churchwardens' accounts and various other parochial accounts of the London suburban parish of St. Andrew Holborn, at great length elsewhere.[72] However, it is useful here to note that Bentley too is part of this selective memorialising tradition. He had a great interest in preserving status and hierarchy within parochial documents to preserve the parish's memory in accordance to his own interests as they pertained to issues of power and authority. Bentley mined the parish registers to record the deaths and burials of prominent members of the parish, such as the burial of Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, in the chancel of the church in 1550/1, and to provide a demographic breakdown of the dead of the parish by social rank.[73] Through selection and recording, Bentley preserved and reasserted the social hierarchy of the parish in his chronicle. He also recorded the benevolent improvements he made to the church and its administration during his tenure as churchwarden. Bentley keenly pointed out in his manuscript that he and his colleague William Cowper were the first churchwardens to record absenteeism and misbehaviour fines collected in the parish.[74] Bentley ensured his manuscript demonstrated his

[71] LMA P82/AND/A/010/MS06673/001.
[72] See Simone Hanebaum', Sovereigns and Superstitions: Identity and Memory in Thomas Bentley's 'Monumentes of Antiquities', *Cultural and Social History* 13 (2016), pp. 287–305; and 'Simone Hanebaum, 'Thomas Bentley and 'Monumentes of Antiquities Worthy Memory': History, Memory, and Identity in Early Modern England' (M.A. thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2014).
[73] LMA P82/AND/B/008/MS04249, fols. 277v, 239v. See discussion in Hanebaum, 'Sovereigns and Superstitions', pp. 297–298.
[74] LMA P82/AND/B/008/MS04249, fol. 236v.

scrupulous administration of the parish to commemorate himself and preserved the memory of parish elites through processes of selection.

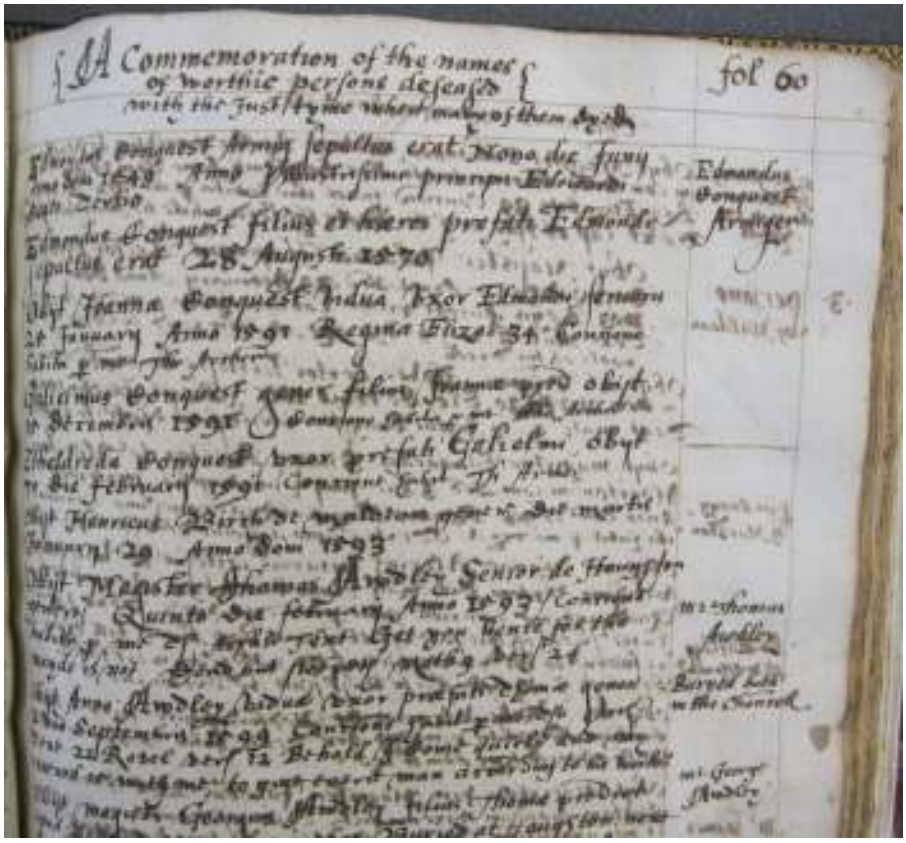
Elite men holding parochial office could exert their control over parish memory with the cooperation and support of the local parson. We have seen in the registers of Ardingly that the incumbent minister was often a record-keeper. These men could preserve parochial memory in other documents as well, such as the parson's commonplace book or accounts which were passed down from one incumbent to his successor. They could use their position as keepers of parish memory to monument their own lives and contributions to their parishes as they curated and mined the archives of the parish. The 'chronicle and commonplace book' kept by Thomas Archer is an example of a commemorative, curated archive that monumented both the parish and himself. Thomas Archer was the parson of the parish of Houghton Conquest and Gildable in Bedfordshire from 1589 until his death in 1630/1. Educated at Cambridge, he held numerous other honours over his lifetime; he was elected a fellow of Trinity College in 1584, and named a chaplain to the Bishop of Carlisle, Archbishop Whitgift, and even King James. Archer's text covers the duration of his tenure as the parson for the parish and includes records of events in the parish and some from Archer's life, notes on the weather, plague outbreaks, the various 'plots' during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, and some record of tithes. This 'commonplace book' is a fair-copy text

which was kept in a book that was probably purchased to be the parson's account book.[75]

Archer's commonplace book is an archival monument to the parish and to himself. As a monument to the parish the text preserves information parsed from the churchwardens' accounts to demonstrate Houghton Conquest's charity. Six folios preserve records of the parish's collection for briefs.[76] Briefs were documents issued by the ecclesiastical authorities that licenced the collection of charitable support across the nation's churches for a specific cause, often natural disasters or accidents experienced in other parts of the country. For example, on 21 March 1618, the parish collected 6s. 4d. for East Greenwich, and 11s. 8d. earlier in the month for Southwold and Walberswick in Suffolk.[77] The verso side of the same folio that records these briefs in Archer's hand also has entries pertaining to alms given to individuals in need. On 21 January 1620, 3s. 6d. was collected 'For a Greshyan wone [sic] Angelo Jacoby off Cyphyra'. [78] The selection and collection of these records serve as a monument to parochial charity, a foundational ideal to the sense of belonging in the early modern parish.

[75] This is suggested by the fact that the book is described as belonging to the rectory and being in the possession of the parson of the parish in a nineteenth-century hand on the verso side of the first flyleaf, by the size of the book, and by the margins that were pre-prepared for the book on each page. The manuscript resembles the fair copy versions of other forms of accounts such as churchwardens' accounts. See BLARS, P11/28/1.
[76] BLARS, P11/28/1, fols. 6v–12v.
[77] BLARS, P11/28/1, fol. 8r. This information is written in Thomas Archer's hand, but the preceding folio further records briefs for other communities across England in the hand of a clerk or other parochial official.
[78] BLARS, P11/28/1, fol. 8v. 'Cyphyra' could possibly refer to Cyprus or the Ionian island of Cythera.

Figure 9: Archer's Commonplace Book[79]



The parochial ideals of order and authority are also preserved in the text. Archer recorded 'the names of all such persons as have bene whipped & had the law as Rogues and varabonds [sic] in Houghton Conquest in Anno 1620'.[80] He named Robert Sanders of Warmington in Warkwickshire and Thomas Robinson of Ellingham, Norfolk as men whipped for wandering through the parish.[81] This authority is also preserved via the mention of the election of churchwardens and other parochial officers. In 1614, John Woodward and John Wynton were made churchwardens, while Thomas Harris and John

[79] BLARS, P11/28/1, fol. 60r. Photo reproduced with permission of the Bedfordshire Archives Service.
[80] BLARS, P11/28/1, fol. 9v.
[81] BLARS, P11/28/1, fol. 9v.

Cooper were made the surveyors for the highways.[82] Archer also listed the names of churchwardens elected in 1619, 1622, 1623, 1625, 1626, and 1628.[83] He also compiled a chronological list of his predecessors, listing some of their biographical details that he accessed from records held within the parish.[84] The first predecessor Archer listed was a man named John Underhill who was the parson during the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII 'as appeareth by twoe evidences Concerning the howse which now belongeth to one Richard Norrice and ar in his custodie to be seene'.[85] Where the information was available, Archer recorded their start dates as the parson of the parish, and their death or date of departure from the parish, up until the start of his incumbency to 21 May 1589. He also mentioned a few names of his predecessors without dates at the bottom of the page. Given that Underhill's tenure dated to the reign of Henry VII, either the dates for these were not possible to identify, or Archer was less interested in preserving mention of the pre-Reformation past of the parish, effectively obliterating remembrance of traditional religion in the parish.[86] The practice of selectively identifying the churchwardens, the parsons of the past, and the rituals that enforced order in the community memorialised order and authority within the parish, much as the listing of occupations in church registers sought to restore hierarchy in mnemonic sites.

This selective process is demonstrated further in Archer's selective mining of the church registers to commemorate the notable dead. In his 'A Commemoration of the names of worthie persons deceased with the Just tyme when many of them dyed', Archer memorialised 60 persons by writing down, mostly in Latin, their name, social rank or occupation, the date of their death and where relevant, the text on which he or other preachers based their funeral sermons. The list spans two and a half folios, and all

[82] BLARS, P11/28/1, fol. 8r.
[83] BLARS, P11/28/1, fols. 8r, 10r, 10v, 128v, 9v.
[84] BLARS, P11/28/1, fol. 37r.
[85] BLARS, P11/28/1, fol. 37r.
[86] BLARS, P11/28/1, fol. 37r.

but three individuals were members of the gentry, aristocracy, or the clergy. What is additional or repetitive in these entries is suggestive of what Archer thought was most important to commemorate about these individuals. First, Archer was keen to note the rank of people. For example, Edmond Conquest was an armiger, Izabella Radclife was 'Ladie Radclife of Elstoe', and many names bear the title *Generosum*, or 'gentleman' as well. This was a common practice in parish registers but Archer's preoccupation with status is especially apparent in light of the fact that there is a separate list of benefactors to the church elsewhere in his text.[87] The list of worthy persons is entirely separate from acts of charity – 'worthie' personage it seems had more to do with rank and social standing. This list of people worth commemorating within his 'commonplace book' is inherently exclusive. Only a select few individuals are commemorated separately from the registers. This effectively undermines the mnemonic inclusivity of the church registers. Community and worthiness of memory was dictated by hierarchy and how it cultivated senses of belonging. In selectively recording this kind of information, Archer sought to craft a narrative of remembrance that reinforced these hierarchal ideals through the use of power and position to ensure its transmission to Archer's successors. This is apparent in the use of an institutional account book as a record and as a consequence, the continued custodianship of the book by subsequent rectors: the names of Archer's successors were written on one of the opening flyleaves from the seventeenth century to the early twentieth century.[88] This not only limited access to the document to parish elites. This also meant that subsequent parsons would see the contributions of the parish and access a curated memory of Houghton Conquest in the

[87] BLARS, P11/28/1, fol. 40v.
[88] BLARS, P11/28/1, fol. 4r. The last name is Robert Venter, dated 1914.

early seventeenth century, as Archer combed the parish archives to construct a highly selective archive-within-an-archive in his manuscript.

Adam Smyth argued for the presence of an autobiographical impulse among clerks and parsons responsible for the church registers.[89] Like these registers, Archer also sought to create a personal monument within his curated, archival monument to the parish. This was done through the insertion of himself into the parish record. In his partial account of 'Memorable things', mainly a list of events of national importance such as the Babington Plot and the prosecution and execution of Robert Devereaux, Earl of Essex,[90] Archer recorded his own birth in Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk on 12 August 1554.[91] Archer was also keen to record his own achievements and his contributions to benefaction and betterment of the parish throughout the manuscript. He noted extensive improvements to the parsonage. He planted elms in 1615, and willows in 1619 and 1629, and dug a sluice to convey water.[92] He repaired the parsonage in 1620 which cost him more than £30, and paid for the repaving of the chancel in the 1620, which demonstrated that Archer upheld his customary responsibilities for the upkeep of the church and the parsonage.[93] He also bought 'pickles' of land to support the poor of the parish.[94] Other gifts to the parish from Archer included a silver gilt communion cup and a corporal cloth for the parish given in 1620 'of his love and meere good will',[95] and a 'great Bible'

[89] Smyth, *Autobiography*, ch. 4.
[90] BLARS, P11/28/1, fol. 48r. These 'memorable things' are found on fols. 48r–49v. Sadly, fols. 50–59v are missing from the manuscript and possibly continued Archer's 'chronicle', as archivists have labelled it.
[91] BLARS, P11/28/1, fol. 48v.
[92] BLARS, P11/28/1, fol. 34r.
[93] BLARS, P11/28/1, fol. 42v.
[94] BLARS, P11/28/1, fol. 34r.
[95] BLARS, P11/28/1, fol. 9r. The parish decided to sell the old communion cup for 32s. which was donated to the poor box (fol. 9r).

which cost 43s. 4d., which was given by Archer as a bequest from his estate after his death.[96]

Archer was also keen to list his own achievements and honours. He recorded his ordination in 1584, and his receipt of his preaching licence from the University of Cambridge in 1588. This is followed by a note regarding his appointment to the parsonage of Houghton Conquest in 1589, and his appointment as the chaplain to the Bishop of Carlisle in 1599.[97] His greatest honour and achievement however was his appointment as a chaplain to James I on 30 July 1605 after preaching in front of the king while he was on progress around the country. He made note of this appointment multiple times in his text.[98]

Archer's recording of his life and his benefaction, as was the case for many of the compilers of commemorative texts, was an act of self-memorialization. This self-commemorating impulse is made most explicit, however, in the self-authored epitaphs – one in Latin and one in English – recorded in Archer's hand in the commonplace book. The English one reads:

> Loe heare in yearth my Bodie Lies
> Whose Synfull life Deserved the Rodd
> Yet I beleive [sic] the same shall rise
> And praise the mercyes of my god
> As for my Soule, let non take Thought
> It is with him that hath it bought
> For god on me dothe mercie take
> For nothing elce [sic] But Jesus sake
> I was T.A.[99]

[96] BLARS, P11/28/1, fols. 33r, 42v.
[97] BLARS, P11/28/1, fol. 41r.
[98] BLARS, P11/28/1, fols. 34r, 37r (twice on this folio), 41v.
[99] BLARS, P11/28/1, fol. 37r.

In preparing his epitaph before his death, Archer exerted control over his commemoration and created an unambiguous textual monument to himself. The decision to compose two epitaphs created a dual monument that commemorated Archer to different audiences. The Latin epitaph was a display of erudition stressing the classical image of the *memento mori*, which commemorated Archer to his successors who probably would have been educated at the universities, while the English one stressed the Christian belief in the resurrection and Archer's assurance, which was better suited for a more general parochial audience.

Archer commemorated himself in subtler ways as well, namely through the recording of the funeral sermons he gave in his aforementioned list of 'worthy' people. In many entries he used the phrase *concione habita ibidem per me* – or roughly translated, 'delivered an address there by me' usually with his name or initials and the text from the Bible on which the funeral sermon was based. By doing so, Archer inserted himself into the majority of entries, equated himself with the 'worthie' and commemorated himself alongside them, explicitly articulating his role as a monument maker through the preaching of the funeral sermon. As a clergyman and a licenced preacher, preaching was one of his primary functions. His commemorative list was therefore a site in which he exerted his identity as a clergyman, and as an individual well connected with the community of the most prominent families in his locality.

Archer took care to commemorate (some) members of the parish and to monument communal values for the posterity of the community at large. But in many respects, Thomas Archer's text is also a monument to his service as parson for the parish of Houghton Conquest, and to his life. He curated the memory of the parish. I use the verb 'to curate' deliberately because a fundamental aspect to the creation of Archer's monument to his community and himself is its archival nature. Archer selected

information from several types of ‘monuments’ – here referring to the early modern definition of a monument that included records and documents – to craft a commemorative, textual monument. He selected information from several types of records, including churchwardens’ account books, the parsonage account books (evident by his mention of the cost of repairing the parsonage), the church registers, and other forms of documents including terriers, tithing records, and evidences held by parishioners. The use of several kinds of documentation, the intent to preserve it for posterity demonstrated by the fair copy form, the type of account book, its custodianship, and the transcriptive rather than narrative nature of much of the entries are all indicative of the archival nature of this manuscript. This archivality is also seen in Thomas Bentley’s ‘Monumentes of Antiquities’.

Parish documents had a legal use for the parish. Registers established parental and spousal obligations, and legal definitions of communal belonging for poor relief. Churchwardens’ accounts tracked the fiscal responsibilities of the parish and the church. Legal use established the archival nature of these collections and documents in a very strict sense, but they embodied patrimonial uses as well that fit the more expansive understanding of what an archive was that is advocated for here. The burial register recorded the dead and their memory for posterity. The interpretive glosses that churchwardens, clerks, and parsons applied to the registers fulfilled the didactic purpose of monuments and preserved social and cultural hierarchies for the future. Churchwardens’ accounts preserved the example of good husbandry for the memory of the churchwardens’ themselves, but also to inspire their successors to fulfil their obligations successfully. The inheritors of these parish documents, and of the histories created from them, were the successive generations of elite men that would continue to serve the commonwealth through the maintenance of order and authority through record-keeping. The impulse to curate a didactic archive was fundamentally an exercise in the creation of monuments to the memory of individual officers and to the community.

Patrimony of the parish memory then, was fundamentally an engagement with the processes of archivality and the use of the archive to preserve structures of power and authority.

Communal and institutional memories are often archival in nature as they commemorate communities through the preservation of records that demonstrate communal values and pride. Far from being neutral and inclusive, parish documents were made exclusive by figures of power and authority and their record-keeping decisions, particularly through added information. The archive could also be represented as a selection of documents from the archive reproduced in a codex, one that controlled the interpretation of the past through processes of selection and reproduction. Power, authority, and personal identity made these archives personal as well as communal in their commemorative intent. This is also evident in the long tradition of civic histories and chronicles, to which this chapter now turns.

The Commemorated City

Civic histories, chronicles, and other forms of civic commemoration have been the subject of much study by early modern and medieval historians alike.[100] Perhaps the best-known civic historical tradition is that of London, where chronicles kept by lay members of the mercantile and commercial communities began to proliferate.[101] This

[100] Non-textual forms of commemoration included pageantry, processions, theatre, heraldry, gifts of gilt and silverware within the livery companies, and civic portraiture, to name but a few. These kinds of commemoration are discussed in several articles or chapters by Robert Tittler, especially civic portraiture. Select publications by Tittler on these topics include Robert Tittler, 'Portraiture and Memory Amongst the Middling Elites in Post-Reformation England', in *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post-Reformation,* eds. Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (Farnham, 2013), pp. 37–58; and Robert Tittler, 'Reformation, Civic Culture and Collective Memory in English Provincial Towns', *Urban History* 24 (1997), pp. 283–300. In the London context, see Ian Archer, 'The Arts and Acts of Memorialization in Early Modern London', in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598–1720*, ed. Julia F. Merritt (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 89–113.

[101] Mary Rose McLaren has argued that these chronicles were written by the first non-clerical generation of historians as a part of a thriving literary culture, and that these texts possessed a distinctively public,

chronicling tradition continued until it reached its heyday in the late sixteenth century,[102] and was perpetuated by men who remained affiliated with the city's livery companies and often worked as clerks. Notable sixteenth-century London chroniclers that have attracted historians' attention include Henry Machyn (d. 1563) and his 'cronicle' kept between 1550 and 1563[103] and John Stow and his widely known *Survey of London* (1598).[104] Civic historical or chronicle traditions were not only the privilege of Londoners; they were also created and kept in a variety of provincial towns outside of

civilly minded voice, with a definitive sense of locality and belonging. Mary-Rose McLaren, *The London Chronicle of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing* (Woodbridge, 2002).

[102] For the decline of the chronicle as a genre see Daniel Woolf, 'Genre into Artifact: The Decline of the English Chronicle in the Sixteenth Century', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19 (1988), pp. 321–354. A contrasting argument regarding the decline of the chronicle is found in Alexandra Walsham, 'Chronicles, Memory and Autobiography in Reformation England', *Memory Studies* 11 (2018), pp. 36–50.

[103] On Machyn and his historical writing see Ian Mortimer, 'Tudor Chronicler or Sixteenth-Century Diarist? Henry Machyn and the Nature of his Manuscript', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 33 (2002), pp. 981–998; Gary G. Gibbs, 'Marking the Days: Henry Machyn's Manuscript and the Mid-Tudor Era', in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, eds. Eamon Duffy and David M. Loades (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 281–308; Andrew Gordon, 'Henry Machyn's Book of Remembrance', in *Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text and Community*, (Basingstoke, 2013), pp. 11–59.

[104] John Stow has been the subject of a vast amount of scholarship that would take far too much space to make note of here. Selected relevant work on John Stow includes: Andrew Gordon, 'John Stow and the Textuality of Custom', in *Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text and Community* (Basingstoke, 2013), pp. 110–154; Ian Gadd, and Alexandra Gillespie, eds., *John Stow (1525–1605) and the Making of the English Past* (London, 2004); Julia .F. Merritt, ed., *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598–1720* (Cambridge, 2001); Ian Archer, 'The Nostalgia of John Stow', in *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London,* 1576–1649, eds. David L. Smith, Richard Strier, and David Bevington (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 17–34; Edward Bonahue, 'Citizen History: Stow's Survey of London', *Studies in English Literature, 15001900* 38 (1998), pp. 61–85; and Barrett L. Beer, *Tudor England Observed: the World of John Stow* (Stroud, 1998).

London, including Bristol, Exeter, Great Yarmouth, Ipswich, and Chester, to name but a few.[105]

In Great Yarmouth, two city 'histories' have been the subject of examination: Thomas Damet's 'Greate Yarmouthe. A Book of the Foundacion and Antiquitye of the Town…' written in the 1590s,[106] and Henry Manship's *The History of Great Yarmouth*, written in 1619.[107] In his analysis of Manship's work, Robert Tittler stressed that Manship's motivations for undertaking his history of Yarmouth were driven by Great Yarmouth's history of jurisdictional challenges regarding fishing from rival ports, such as Lowestoft, the Court of Admiralty, and the Barons of the Cinque Ports, which represented fisheries in Kent and Sussex.[108] These challenges required Great Yarmouth's civic authorities to pursue litigation to protect its interests, which it did so successfully in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The ability to find documents that proved and defended Great Yarmouth's liberty, rights, and interests was seen as necessary, and this very functional, *useful,* motivation was stated explicitly as a reason for writing civic histories, as seen in Manship's preface, which stated 'the need for the town's records…to be well organised, well understood, and readily available for the town's defence of litigation'.[109] This motivation is also discussed in Andy Wood's analysis of Thomas Damet's work, and the existence and organisation of the 'Yarmouth Hutch', a large chest that contained the civic archives that was partially catalogued by Damet, and then reorganised and catalogued by Manship and a committee of aldermen.[110]

The increase in litigation in Tudor England, socio-economic changes, and the Reformation's removal of traditional institutions have been cited by historians as

[105] See for example, Richard Ricart's 'The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar', a six-volume manuscript collection written in the late fifteenth century (BRO MS 04720), and Nathaniel Bacon's 'Annalls of Ipswich', written in the 1650s (SRO C/4/2/2). 37 chronicles or historical collections have been identified in Chester, and at least 14 in Coventry in the early modern period. See Phill Knowles, 'Continuity and Change in Urban Culture: A Case Study of Two Provincial Towns, Chester and Coventry, c.1600–1750' (PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2001), pp. 33–60, cited in Rosemary Sweet, 'Constructing the Self

fundamental factors that contributed to greater interest in the past and its uses in the early modern period.[111] Increases in rural to urban migration, greater social instability caused by the increased social mobility and precariousness of the middling sort and lower gentry, the increased marginalisation of poor, and the loss of religious guilds and confraternities, and saints' days are factors which destabilised senses of local, civic identity. Faced with the need to create new ways to stabilise and maintain community, civic histories in Yarmouth, and in other places, were thus also created to 'sustain a viable urban identity, and thus to legitimise civic authority'.[112] Manship discussed 'the origins and authority of Yarmouth's government' and historically contextualising its past legal battles.[113] Manship advanced several themes including civic pride, respect and deference for governing authority, civic amity, and the role the law and the magistracy

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and Constructing the Civic in Provincial Urban England, c.1660–1800', in *Memory, History and Autobiography in Early Modern Towns in East and West,* eds. Vanessa Harding and Koichi Watanabe (Newcastle, 2015), p. 101. Robert Tittler identifies 30 different localities with civic historical traditions, courtesy of Daniel Woolf, in Tittler, 'Reformation, Civic Culture and Collective Memory', p. 297, ftnt 51.

[106] Robert Tittler, 'Henry Manship: Constructing the Civic Memory in Great Yarmouth', in *Townspeople and the Nation: English Urban Experiences, 1540–1640* (Stanford, 2001), p. 125. Damet's work, originally misattributed to Manship by C.J. Palmer, who edited the text in the nineteenth-century is published as Charles J. Palmer, ed., *A Booke of the Foundacion and Antiquitye of the Towne of Greate Yermouthe…* (Great Yarmouth, 1847).

[107] Manship's original manuscript has since been lost. It is best accessed by historians through a nineteenth-century published transcription. See Henry Manship, *The History of Great Yarmouth*, ed. Charles John Palmer (Great Yarmouth, 1854).

[108] Tittler, 'Henry Manship', p. 123.

[109] Tittler, 'Henry Manship', p. 129.

[110] Andy Wood, 'Tales from the "Yarmouth Hutch": Civic Identities and Hidden Histories in an Urban Archive', in 'The Social History of the Archive: Record-Keeping in Early Modern Europe', eds. Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters, and Alexandra Walsham, *Past and Present* 230, supplement 11 (2016), pp. 213–230.

[111] On the increase in litigation in the period after 1560, see Christopher Brooks, *Pettyfoggers and Vipers of the Commonwealth: The 'Lower Branch' of the Legal Profession in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986); On the relationship between the law and history, see J.G.A Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Case Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1957). Broader studies on the cultural development of interest in history and uses of the past include A.B. Ferguson, *Clio Unbound: Perception of the Social and Cultural Past in Renaissance England* (Durham, NC, 1979) and Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture, 1500–1750* (Oxford, 2003). On the impact of the Reformation on civic identity see Tittler, 'Reformation, Civic Culture and Collective Memory'.

[112] Tittler, 'Reformation, Civic Culture and Collective Memory', p. 283.

[113] Tittler, 'Henry Manship', pp. 130–131.

played in creating and protecting the commonwealth.[114] Damet's manuscript had similar aims. He 'hathe taken some paynes to sette downe in this booke Some good Instruction for the better direction and more needy and speedier dispatch of those Busynes [i.e. the upholding of Great Yarmouth's interests], whiche must be taken in hand & followed by those carefulle travayles of some good men of the same Towne…'.[115] Much like the crafting of documents among parish officers and clergymen, civic uses of the past also preserved institutional expectations and interests, and thus the interests and authority of those that wielded it. This was an expectation of those in power. In her study of the relationship between early modern memory and civic identity, Rosemary Sweet suggested that 'membership of the governing elite conferred upon the individual a powerful sense of being a part of a longer tradition and of a responsibility to pass on the memorials and remembrances of their own time to a future generation'.[116] This was important because 'good governance and the maintenance of the "commonwele" or common good was held to depend upon the observation of historical precedent and respect for the past'.[117]

Civic histories and archives were not only sites of communal memory. They were also sites of self-fashioning or self-memorialisation for their compilers, echoing the findings presented in the previous section regarding parish officers and ministers and their self-fashioning and self-insertion into parochial documents and archives. Vanessa Harding, Koichi Watanabe, and their contributors have examined the relationship between memory, history and autobiography in towns across the early modern globe and argued that civic record keeping provides 'rich examples of the way that personal self-fashioning could use the materials of memory and tradition, and conversely, how the

[114] Tittler, 'Henry Manship', p. 132.
[115] Palmer, *A Booke of the Foundacion…of Greate Yermouthe,* p. 3.
[116] Sweet, 'Constructing the Self and Constructing the Civic', p. 99.
[117] Sweet, 'Constructing the Self and Constructing the Civic', p. 99.

individual could write himself into civic or collective history'.[118] Manship inserted biographical details into his history of Great Yarmouth, such as his attendance at the grammar school established in 1551 in Great Yarmouth, noting that it is 'a good seminary to send forth more labourers into the Lord's harvest, to the glory of his most holy and blessed name, the good of his church, the benefit of the commonwealth, and the singular commendation of this township for evermore'.[119] While Manship downplayed his education at the grammar school with typical early modern self-deprecation, it is clear that his education allowed him to undertake his endeavour of writing a history of his city. This was his way of providing a 'benefit of the commonwealth' and fulfilling his obligations as a citizen of the city and an alderman. The insertion of the self into the text makes the history a site of self-fashioning. Given its commemorative function, the text also commemorates the compiler, as we have seen in the case of parochial documents and personal documents that commemorated patriarchal householders.

The work of Robert Tittler and Andy Wood on the documents held within the Yarmouth Hutch demonstrates that the civic archive was a site where civic pride and self-fashioning were constructed, and where urban politics and the structures of authority were confirmed. Wood's analysis of the Yarmouth Hutch documents examines 'some of the ways in which an archive sustained certain stories and frustrated others', arguing that the archive was a product of a bourgeois cultural elite but that 'fractures within the historical record defeated efforts of writers to shape a particular narrative of the past'.[120] What follows is a case study that confirms the findings of work on Great Yarmouth and London in another municipal context, that of Exeter and John Hooker *alias* Vowell's contributions to Exeter's archives: his 'commonplace book' also referred

[118] Vanessa Harding, 'Introduction', in *Memory, History and Autobiography in Early Modern Towns in East and West,* eds. Vanessa Harding and Koichi Watanabe (Newcastle, 2015), p. 1.
[119] Manship, *History of Great Yarmouth*, p. 45.
[120] Wood, 'Tales from the "Yarmouth Hutch"', p. 213.

to as the 'Black Ledger' (ECA 51) and his 'History of Exeter' (ECA 52).[121] Hooker's engagement with the civic archive, as we shall see, promoted civic pride and the cities liberties, and preserved the interests and motivations of the governing elite through processes of selection, interpretation, and even publication. However, the following analysis qualifies Andy Wood's assertion that fractures within the historical record undermined the power of these glosses, by suggesting that the restriction of access to the documents held in Exeter and other civic archives ensured that only the correct audience, civic elites, would access these documents, thus preventing any 'reading against the grain' that might occur. Further, the following analysis extends past previous work of urban historians beyond appreciation of the civic archive as a site of memory to suggest that the civic archive was a commemorative monument, not only to the city itself, but to its compilers and curators as well.

John Hooker *alias* Vowell was born in 1527 to a prominent Exeter family. He studied law at Oxford and abroad in Cologne, and theology in Strasbourg where he stayed with Peter Martyr the Italian-born reformer. In 1551, he was in the employ of Miles Cloverdale, Bishop of Exeter, but in the shuffling of divines after Mary's ascent to the English throne, Hooker became Exeter's first chamberlain in 1555, an office in which he was responsible for the receipt of the rents and revenues of the city. As Chamberlain, he took it upon himself to rearrange Exeter's documents in a similar fashion to Henry Manship in Exeter fifty years later. In the late 1560s, Hooker assisted Sir Peter Carew in assembling documentation to defend Carew's entitlement to ancestral lands in Ireland, in which kingdom Hooker served as an MP, until he returned to England after Carew's death in 1575. On his return to England, Hooker represented Exeter in Parliament and was one of several scholars and antiquaries engaged in the

[121] See Historical Manuscripts Commission, 'The City of Exeter: John Hooker's Books', in *Report On the Records of the City of Exeter* (London, 1916), pp. 340–382, *BHO*, accessed July 16, 2018, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/hist-mss-comm/vol73/pp340-382.

endeavour of editing and publishing the second edition of *Holinshed's Chronicles*, which was published in 1587. Hooker died in 1601.[122]

Hooker's 'commonplace book' or 'Black Ledger' is a large folio volume containing copies of numerous municipal documents for Exeter, as well as those for other cities or towns in Devon and London. These documents, like those written out by Damet, not only preserve the legal documents needed to assert Exeter's liberties, privileges, and sources of income, but as a unit act as a commemorative document that celebrates Exeter and its hegemony within Devon and its neighbouring southwest counties and marks its rivalry with London. For example, the book contains a record that describes Totnes's liberties and charters, as well as those for Dartmouth, Bradninch, Topsham, and Melcombe Regis in Dorset.[123] The historical conflict with London appears to have occurred over customs and duties for goods travelling from the port city to the metropolis, which required merchants taking their wares from Exeter to London to pay further duty upon entering the city before selling their goods, naturally making Exeter a more expensive port to trade in as custom taxes would be doubly levied; first upon entering Exeter by sea, and then upon entering London. The original tax was issued under the reign of Henry VII, but Hooker also makes note of suits challenging the tax from London's mercantile community under the reign of Elizabeth, suggesting a long-term resentment of the taxation arrangement both within and without London's corporate limits.[124] Further, Hooker made note of the charter of the City of London and appended to it 'liberties and sutes in lawe between Exeter and London', dated 1563,

[122] S. Mendyk, 'Hooker [Vowell], John (c.1527–1601), Antiquary and Civic Administrator', *ODNB*, accessed 12 July 2018, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13695>.
[123] DHC ECA 51, fols. 17r–18v, 19r–v, 27r, 54r–55v, 60v.
[124] DHC ECA 51, fols. 36r–42v.

suggesting that, in Hooker's mind, London had historically overstepped its charters in its relationship with Exeter.

This is not the only conflict recorded between Exeter and other bodies in the book. Other sources of conflict were the aristocracy and their encroachment on the city's liberties; Hooker also compiled 'the sundry and many injuries and wronges wherwith the Countysse and Erles of Devon have from tyme to tyme injured and oppressed the Citie of Excester'.[125] One of these 'injuries and wronges' was the infringement upon the city's rights and jurisdiction over the River Exe, including access to fishing and the passage of boats. In the thirteenth century, Isabella de Fortibus (or Forz) a powerful heiress who inherited the earldom of Devon, built two weirs on the river, 'by meanes wherof the fishinge above the said Ryver was Lost & decaied: And also the passage of boates & vessels laden with wynes & merchaundyses to & fro the high seas to the citie was virely loste as yn tymes past was accustomed'.[126] This exercise of feudal power challenged the freedom and authority of the city and threatened its livelihood. The historical fight for the city's rights against the most powerful peers of the realm undoubtedly contributed to the development of a keen sense of civic identity, particularly when it was tied to the freedom of the city, and the perceived privileges it entailed in contrast to vassalage. Hooker also recorded points of ecclesiastical conflict between Exeter and the Church, which sometimes included the aristocracy. Hooker recorded the 'varyaunce and controversie of the Erle of Devon and the Prior of Saint Nicholas agaynst the Mayor and Commonalitie of the Citie of Excester for Croldyche or Lammas Faire', dated to 1322/3, and 'Nusances by the Deane uppon the wayes of the Cittie' between the city and the cathedral.[127] Recording these challenges to Exeter's authority not only served a litigious

[125] DHC ECA 51, fols. 48v–53r.
[126] DHC ECA 51, fols. 48v.
[127] DHC ECA 51, fols. 57–59; 77r–v. the second title comes from a table of contents prepared in the mid-seventeenth century in the hand of Richard Izacke (c.1624–1698) who also served as chamberlain to

purpose; it also served as a warning to other civic officers to be wary of those that encroached on the city, and to encourage them to undertake actions that benefitted and protected the city.

The city was not always in conflict with the Church. Hooker also compiled a series of short biographical notes on the lives of bishops from Bartholomew Iscanus, who held the diocese in the twelfth century, to the death of Bishop John Woolton in 1593, who was appointed to the see in 1579.[128] The majority of the entries mention when the bishops were consecrated and their deaths or subsequent translations to different episcopal sees. Hooker mentioned the noble parentage of bishops. He recorded episcopal wisdom, learning, and benefaction, evident in the enlarging of the episcopal manorial holdings; Hooker referred to Bishop William Brewer's (1224–1244) acquisition of the manorial holdings of Brampton and Colyton Bawley explicitly as a 'memoryall'.[129] He also noted their other marks of honour and influence such as chaplaincies to the monarch and ambassadorial appointments to the major kingdoms and empires of Christendom, including the Papal See. Like other forms of life-writing that have been discussed in this dissertation, these biographies commemorated the individuals who held the bishopric and emphasised their virtues of learning, piety, and their good governance. In addition, Hooker's lives commemorated the prestige, honour, and power that Exeter held as the episcopal seat.

This is most apparent in the few instances where Hooker levelled criticism at former bishops. John Voysye [sic Vesey] held the Exeter episcopacy from 1519 to 1550. Hooker made note of Vesey's erudition and his great favour with Henry VIII, but he criticised Vesey for his 'courtely behaviour' which 'in the end turned not so muche unto

Exeter, elected a century after Hooker was first appointed, and who published his *Antiquities of the City of Exeter* (1677), which drew heavily upon the city's records, and much of the legwork of his predecessor.
[128] DHC ECA 51, fols. 81r–104r.
[129] DHC ECA 51, fol. 81v.

his credyt as to the utter ruyn and spoyle of his Churche'.[130] Hooker noted that Vesey greatly mismanaged the episcopal property holdings by selling them off. 'By this meanes one of the beste bisshoprickes within this lande is become one of the poorest', Hooker wrote.[131] Worse still, Vesey resigned from the bishopric in 1550 over matters of religion – he was more religiously conservative than Edward VI's reforms – and 'lyved by the rentes and revenewes of the Landes which he had solde and discontynewed and which he reserved unto hym for terme of his lyffe'.[132] Matters of religion were important to Hooker; he praised Miles Coverdale's brief episcopacy for Coverdale's early evangelism. But he also treated pre-Reformation bishops with reverence and respect for their benefaction and care for the diocese.[133] What made a bishop worthy of remembrance was learning, service to the realm in the House of Lords and abroad, and proper maintenance of the cathedral church and the diocese because it reflected favourably on Exeter's prominence and prosperity. The city had a complicated relationship with members of the Church who overstepped their bounds; the first Elizabethan bishop, William Allen, attempted to name himself a justice of the peace in Devon, an ambitious move quickly struck down by the mayor and aldermen of the city.[134] However, it is clear that in general the relationship with the see was viewed as reflecting positively on the city, provided that everyone respected the limits of their jurisdictions.

Naturally, the charters, customs, entitlements, and interests of the city of Exeter make up the majority of the documents in Hooker's book. It contains 'Certeyn olde and auncient orders and customes of the Citie of Excester to be observed and kept' as they

[130] DHC ECA 51, fol. 87r.
[131] DHC ECA 51, fol. 87v.
[132] DHC ECA 51, fol. 87v.
[133] DHC ECA 51, fols. 87v–103r (fols. 88r–102v are missing and the entry for Cloverdale continues intact on fol. 103r).
[134] DHC ECA 51, fol. 103r–103v.

pertain to the freedom of the city and its tenure of lands.[135] Hooker created an 'Abstracte of all the orders and ordynaunces extante, made, enacted and ordeyned by the Mayres and Common Counsell of the Citie of Excester *for the tyme beynge or the good government of the sayde Citie and common welthe of the same, collected by John Vowell alias Hooker'*.[136] Hooker compiled these documents for the practical use of maintaining good governance of the city through the organisation and description of the most pertinent legal documentation available in the city archives. But the manuscript also serves a more abstract socio-cultural use as a representation of good government – which included the maintenance of the city's liberties, social order, and hierarchy – to foster the mini-commonwealth that was the city. Richard Cust's 'public man' saw the maintenance of social order as an inherent duty that impelled men to hold civic offices and participate in other forms of administration.[137] We have already encountered Rosemary Sweet's assertion that record-keeping and respect for the past was seen as an integral part of civic duty and identity.[138] Hooker explicitly attached his name to this 'Abstract', which commemorates his service to his city and echoes the findings regarding the relationship between duty and commemoration discussed in chapter two on masculinity and monumentality. Hooker's record-keeping was an act of communal commemoration, an act of self-fashioning as well as a performance of the expectations and ideals of his station, office, and civic identity, and thus an act of self-commemoration as well.

Like similar multivalent acts of monumentality among the clergy, churchwardens, and other civic record keepers, Hooker's writing cannot be separated from the dynamics of power and authority. Documents were preserved in the archive

[135] DHC ECA 51, fol. 24v.
[136] DHC ECA 51, fol. 141. Italics are my emphasis.
[137] Richard Cust, 'The "Public Man" in Late Tudor and Stuart England', in *Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, eds. Peter Lake and Steve Pincus (Manchester, 2007), pp. 116–143.
[138] Sweet, 'Constructing the Self and Constructing the Civic', p. 99.

and in Hooker's manuscripts in their original Latin. Hooker's 'Black Ledger' was kept in the civic archives of the city and used by later chamberlains of the city such as Richard Izacke, who held the position a century after Hooker. These factors ensured that the monuments of the city of Exeter had limited audiences for exclusionary purposes. While they were the records of an institution and thus represented all residents of a city in theory, in practice they were for the use of the limited citizenry and the better sort that ruled the city or the parish. This is explicit in the statement by Hooker and his contemporaries that these documents were to be used for good government and preserve the commonwealth. These were not documents to be used by those historically excluded from official avenues of participation in the public sphere such as women and the poor. The implication is that commemorative texts were inherently destined for men of a particular rank, an observation that is overlooked in Tittler's discussion of historical writing and civic culture but is present in Andy Wood's discussion of the Great Yarmouth Hutch.[139]

Furthermore, even if individuals of varying ranks in the city encountered these documents, their reading of them would have been guided by the curation of documents, memory, and the shape of monumentality created by the compilers of these texts. As with the case of Yarmouth, Exeter's 'archives were ordered, transcribed and rendered accessible in order to sustain a usable past for the town's commercial middling sort — that is, that the archives represented the historiographical expression of a bourgeois public sphere—then the censoring of the town's history points towards the ways in which the textual exclusion of popular politics enabled its continuing institutional exclusiveness'.[140] Efforts to organise the records made their use and various purposes of

[139] See Wood, 'Tales from the "Great Yarmouth Hutch"', pp. 229–230. For an excellent case study example of female construction of civic identity, see Andrew Gordon's discussion of Isabella Whitney in Andrew Gordon, 'Contesting Inheritance: William Smith and Isabella Whitney', in *Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text and Community* (Basingstoke, 2013), pp. 60–109.
[140] Andy Wood, 'Tales from the "Great Yarmouth Hutch"', p. 229.

keeping these documents easier, and more convenient, but only for those invested with the power and authority to access them. These texts were inherently curated by the interests and viewpoints of their compilers; the reader of these civic textual monuments only accesses *directly* the narrative that conforms to the purposes and interests of the compiling monumentor. Readers can find more, as Wood has suggested through his identification of cracks in Yarmouth's loyalty narrative during Kett's Rebellion present in the archive itself,[141] but this requires them to 'read against the grain' to do so. These cracks or contradictions within the archive, Wood has argued, 'destabilized' the historical narrative and that Henry Manship found himself writing 'a history that was far more multi-vocal than he intended'.[142] This may be the case if the reader is not properly equipped with an elite understanding of the documents held in the archive. However, these documents were written for and read by men that knew the narrative these documents tried to convey. A 'multi-vocal' chorus fell upon selectively deaf ears, protecting the exclusionary narrative of the archive.

This exclusivity emerges in a surprising way when we consider one part of ECA 51 that was printed in the early modern period. One part of the manuscript details the 'order and manner of the Government of the Citie of Excester and of the officers of the same'.[143] This was published on 31 December 1583 as *A pamphlet of the offices, and duties of everie particular sworne officer, of the citie of Excester.*[144] In the dedicatory epistle 'To the Right worshipfull the Maior, Bailiffes, Recorder, Aldermen, and all others, the sworne officers of the Citie of Excester' Hooker described his endeavours as a New Year's Gift from 'a naturall sonne [of the city] to yield some remembrance and

[141] Wood, 'Tales from the "Great Yarmouth Hutch"', pp. 224–229.
[142] Wood, 'Tales for the "Great Yarmouth Hutch"', pp. 229–230.
[143] DHC ECA 51, fols. 155r–155v; 162r–193v. Fol. 155 is misplaced within the manuscript.
[144]John Hooker, *A pamphlet of the offices, and duties of everie particular sworne officer, of the citie of Excester: collected by John Vowell alias Hoker, Gentleman & chamberlaine of the same* (London, 1584).

duetie unto you', likening the city to a godparent of its freemen and citizenry.[145] Despite his deferential subjugation to the authority of the city as an abstract, Hooker's didactic purposes are explicit. He wrote 'so if you open this booke you shall learne the things most expedient and necessarie for you to know. It is the abridgment or summarie of such speciall points, as be incident to everie of your particuler officers: which you ought not only to know and to understand, but also to see to be doone and exequuted [sic]'.[146] Whereas the didactic purpose of the manuscript is implicit, this is made explicit in the print version. Its wider intended audience is demonstrated not only by the printing of the pamphlet, but also in the fact that the very first 'office' and duties that Hooker discussed in his text was that of the freemen. The rank of freeman, as Hooker noted, was the fundamental prerequisite for all holders of sworn offices.[147] The printed version is essentially directed to all freemen of the city, informing them of their duties in general. However, the manuscript remains even more exclusive. In the epistle Hooker referred his readers for 'further instructions to the great Leger or blacke booke, wherein at large I have set downe whatsoever concerneth the state of this citie, and the government of the same'.[148] Access to the ledger would have been further restricted to office-holders themselves. As a sworn office-holder, Hooker actively crafted civic identity in print. However, access to documents in the manuscript was further restricted, and was still not free from Hooker's curatorial hand.

These conclusions are further supported by analysis of the contents of ECA 52, or Hooker's 'History of Exeter'. This folio book is in some respects a condensed, fair-copy companion book to ECA 51. At the start of the book there is a coloured engraving of the arms of the queen flanked by the arms of the city, of the diocese and those of Hooker, and a coloured engraving of Queen Elizabeth entitled 'Eliza Triumphans'

[145] Hooker, *A pamphlet of the offices*, fol. A1v.
[146] Hooker, *A pamphlet of the offices*, fol. A2r.
[147] Hooker, *A pamphlet of the offices*, fol. C1r.
[148] Hooker, *A pamphlet of the offices*, fol. A4r.

signed by William Rogers c.1592. The book contains several items that made their way into print in Hooker's lifetime, including a description of the city of Exeter – which was published in 1575, a catalogue of the lives of the Exeter bishops published in 1584 that resembles the lives of bishops recorded in ECA 51, and another variation of his pamphlet on the offices of the city discussed above. The description of the city traced the origins of the city and the nature of government from the reign of the mythical king Brutus until the present day and includes copies of charters and documents relevant to Exeter. It also includes a history of the foundation of the cathedral, and a narrative of subsequent invasions and conflicts that threatened Exeter's security, the most recent being Hooker's eyewitness account of the siege of Exeter during the Prayer Book Rebellion in 1549.

The manuscript includes a dedicatory epistle to 'The Right wor[shipful] grave and prudent the Mayor Senators and Commalitie [sic] of the auncient and honorable Citie of Excester'. In his dedicatory epistle, Hooker described his service to the city for nearly half a century. He discussed how as Chamberlain he served as a clerk for the council chamber 'pennynge their Actes and Devisinge their lettres to any estate or person'.[149] He also noted that he took the initiative to make the council chamber a more comfortable, better lit space to work in, how he learned about the common law from the town clerk, worked with the receiver to review the incomes and expenditures of the city, and how as Bailiff he planted trees to beautify the city's highway, built 'places stockes and stoles fytt and meete' for the city's launderesses, and restored mills, banks, and weirs 'which were then all out of order'.[150] But arguably it is Hooker's record-keeping which is of greatest note. He wrote that he

> Joyned to suche persons of that house as were appointed to veiwe [sic] peruse and examyne all the Recordes writinges and evidences which were then out of

[149] DHC ECA 52, fol. 1v.
[150] DHC ECA 52, fol. 2v.

> order and by manns Remembraunce not tofore donne by any And what was then Donne was layed up in the places of your thresury as was meete. But afterwardes by meanes and Casualties and by reason of my absentes in other affayres all was confused and out of order And then I was once agayne fayne to Reforme and reviewe the same but yet it was not sowell Donne as ought to be. Nowe therefore once more and then thirde tyme I have perused and Reviewed the same in the best order I cann and Caused places to be appointed and presses to be made with Kayes and lockes and with a booke wherin I have Registered every writinge and Rolls of all suche evidences as then Remayned all which now I have Caused to be locked up in the salfitie [sic] without further spoyle and the keyes to remayne in your owne Custodye.[151]

This confirms that access to the city archives was limited to a few, and that Hooker actively organised and curated the city archives in his ledgers, and the archival nature of the 'black booke' here referred to as the 'booke wherin I have Registered every writing and Rolls of all suche evidences as then Remayned'.[152] Where the commemorative potential of ECA 51 is understated, it is far more obvious in ECA 52 for a variety of reasons. The book was written in a neat hand, organised by index, and prefaced with dedicatory epistle and the coloured engravings. These elements indicate that ECA 52 is a fair-copy manuscript, which suggests the intentionality of Hooker's manuscript. It was a finished product. Hooker also provided a triumphant narrative of the city and its antiquity alongside its documents and more obviously created a monument not only to the city, but also to himself in the detailing of his service to the city and its 'common-welthe', which included his obligation to preserve the city's past for its posterity. This work not only commemorated the city, but it also commemorated Hooker as well.

From the analysis of Hooker's textual monuments to the city and himself and from the work of urban historians on the histories of Yarmouth and on civic writing at large, it is clear that the city was a profoundly important site of memory. The

[151] DHC ECA 52, fol. 1v.
[152] DHC ECA 52, fol. 1v.

preservation of the city's past was viewed as inherently useful and necessary as incorporated cities and towns found themselves in conflict with competing jurisdictions and threats to their interests from other cities, feudalism, the church, and conflicts both foreign and domestic. The legal usefulness of these documents undoubtedly gave them the kind of protection that made the memory stored in them more stable and better protected and necessitated the creation of the archive in the first place. The civic sense of antiquity, freedom, and prosperity created a potent sense of local identity. It was not however, a sense of identity that was inclusive to all. The creation of these archival textual monuments was inherently tied to structures of power and authority, and thus to Head's notion of archivality.[153] Not only were they created by men in powerful positions, but the access to these documents was restricted either physically under lock and key, or by the narrative glosses those in authority gave their histories. The didacticism of these civic monuments extended only to an elite audience for their better instruction and edification in the exercise of power and authority. As in the case of parish archives, the patrimony of the civic archive was exclusionary. Civic archives were not only monuments to the metropolis. In seeking to preserve and celebrate the past, the effort and work undertaken by compilers created monuments to themselves out of the archive for their official successors. Their personal monuments exemplified the duties of civic administrators to protect and propagate civic identity and memory. In understanding the early modern English archive, we need to appreciate that it was part of an increasingly textual commemorative culture, whereby monuments were created to both the individual and community through a multitude of processes. Marginalia; interpretive glosses created through selection, addition, and omission of information; transcription; organisation; publication; and physical access to the archive were

[153] Head, 'Early Modern European Archivality'.

strategies that embedded the individual in communal memory, and recreated structures of power and authority on the page.

Memory on the Move: A Mercantile Monument

We have seen the archive represented in several forms thus far: as collections of documents held in chests and civic muniments rooms, and as curated manuscripts created from the documents these places held. Neither were free from the curation of their keepers and their communal and self-monumenting impulses. The codex was both a record held within the archive, and a kind of virtual paper muniments room as well. As an archive, a book could make information more easily accessible, more durable, and portable. Matthew Parker's archiepiscopal history *De antiquitate Britannicae ecclesiae,* which cited large abstracts of primary sources at length, harkened back to a classical understanding of the durability of historical narrative in preserving documents of the past. The church historian Eusebius explained that he recorded primary sources

> so that it might survive in the interest of history and be protected for our posterity, and also so that the quotation of the edict might confirm the truth of my present narrative. The text is quoted from an authenticated copy of the imperial edict preserved in my possession, on which the subscription, by Constantine's right hand, signifies its testimony to the trustworthiness of my speech like some sort of seal'.[154]

The translation of archival material into narratives or other forms such as the codex increased their durability, and the publication of this kind of documents made them far more accessible.

Private manuscript archives could also take the shape of codices of transcribed material. Anne Clifford's 'Great Books of Record' collected historical and legal documents and contained autobiographical and biographical records, creating an archive

[154] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, 2.23, quoted in Grafton, 'Matthew Parker', p. 37. Grafton cited Clifford Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley, 2000), p. 130 as his source for the Eusebius quote.

to support her claim to the Clifford estates and commemorated the family and her successful reacquisition of her estates.[155] The recusant Catholic Blundell family of Little Crosby, Lancashire collected documents into their 'Great Hodge Podge', an amalgamation of series of documents, notebooks, and accounts created by successive patriarchs.[156] These archiving traditions which married manuscript codices with family history can be found across early modern Europe.[157]

Giovanni Ciappelli has demonstrated that one type of these family archive-codices, the *ricordanze,* emerged out of thirteenth-century notarial and mercantile accounting practices in Renaissance Florence to create multigenerational books of family history.[158] These texts initially started in the personal accounting books of merchants but came to include biographical information about compilers. According to

[155] See above, chapter 3 for a discussion of Clifford's archive and the relevant historiography. See also Anne Clifford, *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. D.J.H. Clifford (Stroud, Gloucestershire, 2009).
[156] On the Blundells and their 'Hodge Podge' see especially Julie van Vuuren, 'The Manuscript Culture of an English Recusant Catholic Community in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Study of *The Great Hodge Podge* and the Blundell Family of Little Crosby, Lancashire' (Ph.D. diss., University of Reading, 2011). See also Daniel Woolf, 'Little Crosby and the Horizons of Early Modern Historical Culture', in *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain*, eds. D.R. Kelley and D.M. Sacks (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 93–132; Geoff Baker, *Reading and Politics in Early Modern England: The Mental World of a Seventeenth-Century Catholic Gentleman* (Manchester, 2010); T.E. Gibson, ed. 'Crosby Records: A Chapter of Lancashire Recusancy', *Remains Historical and Literary connected to the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester* 12, n.s. (1887); T.E. Gibson, ed*. Crosby Records: A Cavalier's Note book being Notes, Anecdotes, & Observations of William Blundell, of Crosby, Lancashire, Esquire* (London, 1880).
[157] On German sources, see P. Monnet, *Les Rohrbach de Francfort. Pouvoirs, affaires et parenté à l'aube de la Renaissance allemande* (Génève, 1997); B. Studt, ed., *Haus- und Familienbücher in der städtischen Gesellschaft der Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit* (Wien, 2007); C. Ulbrich, 'Libri di casa e di famiglia in area tedesca nel tardo Medioevo: un bilancio storiografico', in *Memoria, famiglia, identità tra Italia ed Europa nell'età moderna*, ed. Giovanni Ciappelli (Bologna, 2009), pp. 39–61. On France see Sylvie Mouysset, *Papiers de famille. Introduction à l'etude des livres de raison (France, XVe–XIXe siècle)* (Rennes, 2007); J. Tricard, 'La mémoire des Bénoist: livre de raison et mémoire familiale au XVe siècle', in *Temps, mémoire, tradition au Moyen Age*, ed. Henri Platelle (Aix-en-Provence, 1983), pp. 119–140; Nicole Lemaître, 'Les livres de raison en France (fin XIIIe–XIXe siècles)', *TestoeSenso* 7 (2006), pp. 1–18; and James Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford, 1998).
[158] A similar relationship between mercantile accounting and information management has been identified by Angus Vine. See Angus Vine, *Miscellaneous Order: Manuscript Culture and the Early Modern Organization of Knowledge* (Oxford, 2019), ch. 4.

Ciappelli, the motives for creating these documents were 'patrimony and posterity', enabling families to make social advancement, and to defend against social decline.[159] These documents were 'the combined result of the tradition of the training of the medieval Italian merchant and the Florentine merchant's special familiarity with large-scale commerce and exchange [which] produced a particular formation and educational structure'.[160] While many *ricordanze* were part of a larger, sometimes complex, archival system,[161] the peripatetic nature of mercantile life necessitated that these types of documents be portable to accompany merchants on their travels.

One early seventeenth-century English merchant named Robert Williams recommended carrying a chest with various account and notebooks, including 'a booke for charges Merchandize', 'a Coppie booke of Letters', and 'a Remembrance or Note Booke'.[162] Merchants in the age of exploration and 'discovery', men on their Grand Tour,[163] soldiers, seafarers, captains, privateers, pirates, and ship-chaplains all engaged in forms of travel writing, recording their journeys in commonplace books, diaries, and other documents. We recall that Thomas Wilbraham travelled the continent in 1614 and 1618 and recorded his travels in his family's intergenerational 'diary'.[164] John Ramsey (1578–c.1633) made similar notes of his travels in Western Europe and his pilgrimage to

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[159] See Giovanni Ciappelli, *Memory, Family and the Self: Tuscan Family Books and Other European Egodocuments (14th–15th Century),* trans. Susan Amanda George (Leiden, 2014), p. 23.
[160] Ciappelli, *Memory, Family and the Self,* p. 18.
[161] Ciappelli, *Memory, Family and the Self,* p. 25.
[162] University of Pennsylvania MS Codex 207, cited in Jacob Soll, 'How to Manage an Information State: Jean-Baptiste Colbert's Archives and the Education of his Son', *Archival Science 7* (2006), pp. 333–334. Cited also in Alexandra Walsham, 'Introduction', p. 36. Both Soll and Walsham discuss the relationship between mercantile life and archives.
[163] Jill Belper, 'Travelling and Posterity: The Archive, the Library and the Cabinet', in *Grand Tour: Adeliges Reisen und Europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, eds. Rainer Babel and Werner Paravicini (Ostfilden, 2005), pp. 191–203, accessed 5 January 2018, https://www.perspectivia.net/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/ploneimport_derivate_00009698/bepler_travelling.pdf.
[164] CRO DDX/210/1, fols. 13v, 15v.

the Holy Land in his notebook.[165] Richard Maddox (1546–1583), who served as chaplain on Edward Fenton's trading voyage to the Maluku Islands, Indonesia on the *Galleon Leicester* in 1582, recorded the voyage in unusual detail.[166] Madox's account, as well as that of Humphrey Gilbert's eyewitness account of attempts to find the Northwest Passage (c.1566), and the captain of the *Golden Hind* Edward Hayes's journey with Gilbert to Newfoundland in 1583 made their way into an archive of travel accounts: Richard Hakluyt's *Principall navigations* (1589).[167] It is in this world of portable archival codices and travel writing in which we must situate the manuscript archive of John Sanderson, a merchant-adventurer with the Levant Company based in Constantinople in the latter two decades of the sixteenth century. Sanderson's text, as we shall see, straddled these various phenomena, and his manuscript was a useful site of archivality, monumentality, and memory for a man on the move.

Sanderson's text is Lansdowne MS 241 in the British Library, a manuscript of over 400 folios. Recorded in what was intended to be an accounting book purchased in 1560, with an unusually early alphabetical index, the manuscript was labelled a 'diary and common place book' by nineteenth-century archivists. The contents of the manuscript include a variety of self-authored and transcribed material pertaining to the

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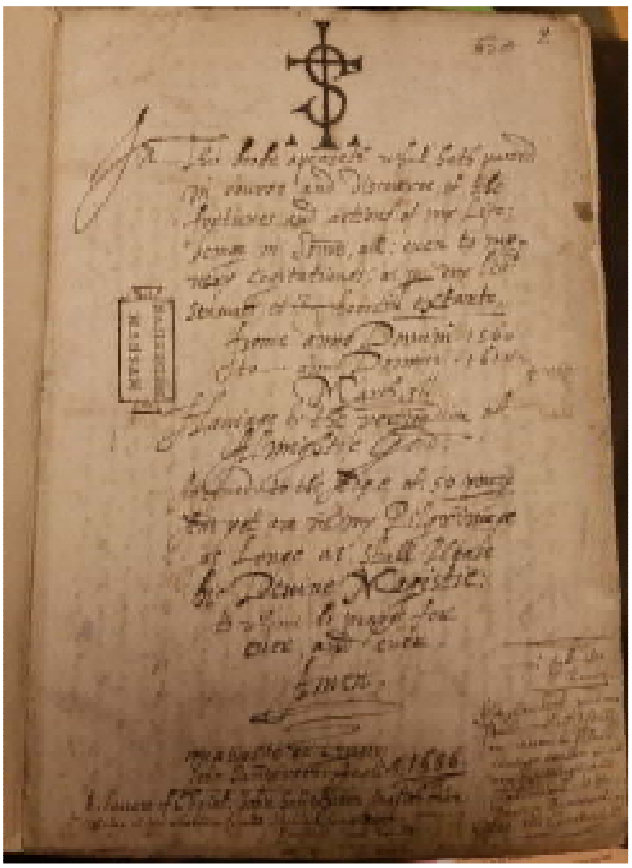
[165] Bodl. MS Douce 280, fols. 7v–8r.
[166] John Bennell, 'Madox, Richard (1546–1583), Church of England Clergyman and Diarist', *ODNB*, accessed 4 January 2019, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-64595; E.S. Donno, 'An Elizabethan in 1582: The Diary of Richard Madox, Fellow of All Souls', *Hakluyt Society*, 2nd ser., 147 (1976); and BL Cotton MS Appendix XLVII.
[167] Rory Rapple, 'Gilbert, Sir Humphrey (1537–1583), Explorer and Soldier', *ODNB*, accessed 4 January 2019, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10690; D. Quinn, 'Hayes, Edward (b. c.1550, d. in or after 1613), Seaman and Promoter of Colonization', *ODNB*, accessed 4 January 2019, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-37524; Richard Hakluyt, *The principall navigations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation made by sea or over land, to the most remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1500. yeeres: devided into three severall parts, according to the positions of the regions wherunto they were directed...* (London, 1589).

life and affairs of John Sanderson. It is predominantly comprised of transcribed copies of correspondence between Sanderson and his business associates and diplomats in Constantinople; business transactions; legal documents including copies of bonds; commonplaced theological and historical tracts; state papers, including correspondence

between Elizabeth I and the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire; travel writing; and 'autobiographical' life-writing. This archive was a monument to Sanderson's life.

Figure 10: Titlepage of Sanderson's Archive[168]



The intention to create, organise, and preserve records in an archive for posterity has been a fundamental criterion for establishing patrimony, and by extension, monumentality, in the preceding discussion. Sanderson's text first started out as a commonplace book with utility, rather than posterity, in mind. The account book itself was purchased by Sanderson's father the year that Sanderson was born, and he used it, it

[168] © British Library Board, MS Lansdowne 241, fol. 2r. Reproduced with permission of the British Library.

seems, to first compile copies of theological and historical texts in the 1580s. The fact that Sanderson signed his name with the date 1586 on what would become the manuscript's title page, the uniformity and neatness of the organisation of the transcribed theological and ecclesiastical history materials in the manuscript, and their grouping together within the first fifty folios of the book all suggest that this commonplacing activity took place at the start of Sanderson's career. This material includes excerpts from Josephus, St. Augustine, Henry Bullinger's sermons on the Book of Revelations (published in 1561), and a discourse on Creation that Sanderson 'had of Mr. John Speed my friend', as well as miscellaneous notes on other theological materials.[169] Dating this textual transcription to the 1580s is further supported by the fact that most of the other documents in the text – namely copies of correspondence and business dealings – date from the 1590s, and indeed some are transcribed by Sanderson's apprentice John Hanger, who served Sanderson from 1599 to 1602.[170]

It is clear then that Sanderson's text did not start as a commemorative archive but rather as a commonplace book used as a portable library. Commonplacing was a method of archiving; commonplacing and other humanist methods of information collection and organisation played an integral role in early modern archiving processes.[171] Rather, the differentiation between a commemorative archive and a commonplace book in this instance is an acknowledgment of the fact that the use of texts developed or changed over time and that commemorative intentions may apply to only a part of an archive or emerge only after the process of collection has started. The 1580s were a decade of significant travel for Sanderson on behalf of his master for the Levant Company. He

[169] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fols. 2v–7v; 23r–28r; 29v–41r; 11v–22v.
[170] Hanger did not complete his full apprenticeship with Sanderson and this was a cause for a legal dispute. BL MS Lansdowne 241, fols. 172v–181r; 182v–185v. Fols. 172v–181r document the 'warre' between Sanderson and Hanger and are written upside down in the text, and therefore start on 181r, whereas 182–185v are a 'brief of the Badd behaviour of John Hanger'.
[171] Walsham, 'Social History of the Archive', p. 35–37. See also Vine, *Miscellaneous Order.*

spent time in the Ottoman Empire from 1584–1587, journeyed to Holland in 1588, and was part of a group of men who made an unsuccessful attempt to be the first British ship to navigate around the Cape of Good Hope in 1590. He returned to the Levant at the end of 1590. The peripatetic nature of mercantile life, especially for a young man from a respected but financially weakened family, meant that Sanderson would have had to travel light. The account book offered a place for Sanderson to transcribe the texts he would utilise the most.

While Sanderson's text did not start intentionally as an archive, it evolved into one by 1610. By this time, Sanderson was well past middle age, and perhaps the passing of years spurred him to reflect on the past and leave a legacy for posterity. A title page with the letter S superimposed on a Christian cross describes the text as follows:

> In this booke apeareth *what hath passed in course and discourse, of the fortunes and actions of my life, beinge in some, all*; even to my very cogitations [i.e cogitation, or reflections], as per my letters, censures &c. herein extante, from 1560 to 1610. Havinge by the permition [i.e. permission] of Almightie God: Atteyned, to the Adge of 50 years And yet am in my Pilgrimage as Longe as shall Please his Devine Magistie to whome be prayes for ever and ever Amen.[172]

The manuscript is *all* the events of Sanderson's life, represented both in narrative form in his autobiography and his travel writing, and as records such as letters. This mirrors other archival manuscripts from the early modern period, such as the manuscript of John of Dadizele, a member of the fifteenth-century Flemish gentry, which combined autobiography, genealogy, and records that asserted lordly privilege and authority via the holding of seigneuries.[173] Eric Ketelaar suggested that what makes archives unique is

[172] BL, MS Lansdowne 241, fol. 2r. Italics are my emphasis.
[173] Frederik Buylaert and Jelle Haemers, 'Record-Keeping and Status Performance in the Early Modern Low Countries', in 'The Social History of the Archive: Record-Keeping in Early Modern Europe', eds. Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters, and Alexandra Walsham, *Past and Present* 230, supplement 11 (2016), pp. 131–150.

'their nature as sediment of a specific activity or transaction'.[174] If we extrapolate this to argue that an archive is something that pertains to a whole body of records pertinent to one overarching action, then it can be argued that a life lived is one of these overarching actions. Sanderson's book then encompasses all of his life and includes sub-areas of organisation in some instances. For example, he grouped all the letters pertaining to his legal dispute with his apprentice together and labelled them 'The letters folowinge ar the beginninge or the warre betwene John Sanderson & his most fiendish wicked vile & bad servant John Hanger…'.[175] Here his letters are replicated not only to provide evidence of the conflict, but also to construct a non-prose narrative of this 'warre' between master and servant. They are replicated to represent, or to use Buylaert and Haemers's phrase, *illustrate* the conflict, rather than to perform an evidentiary purpose.[176]

This is especially the case when we consider that the records in Sanderson's text were *copies*. Sanderson explicitly labelled documents a 'Copie' or 'coppie' and he used his apprentice to transcribe records and materials into the text. Sanderson wrote at the bottom of one page 'my apprentise John Hanger did write this; and copied many others, my letters & matters into this & other my bookes at my appointment'.[177] Structurally, the book retains nearly all of its original folio-sized pages, which further supports the suggestion that the text is overwhelmingly composed of transcribed documents. If the text contained originals it would be a motley collection of papers of various sizes and shapes. This is evidenced by the odd insertion of original letters, such as one written to

[174] Eric Ketelaar, 'Foreword', *Archives and Information in the Early Modern World,* eds. Alexandra Walsham, Kate Peters, and Liesbeth Corens (London, 2018), p. xvi.
[175] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fol. 172v.
[176] Buylaert and Haemers argue that John of Dadizele's inclusion of copies of documents function as illustrations of status rather than as evidence. Buylaert and Haemers, 'Record Keeping and Status Performance', p. 148.
[177] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fols. 50v, 49v.

Sanderson by one Thomas Glover in 1610, which deviates in size considerably from the original folio pages of the manuscript.[178]

Figure 11: Sanderson's Letter to Glover[179]

Despite Sanderson's claims to the contrary, the text does not operate as a comprehensive archive of all his life. Rather, it represents an exhaustive representation of his *public* life as a merchant. It is an exercise in 'status performance', a topic to which

[178] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fols. 409r–409v.
[179] © British Library Board, MS Lansdowne 241, fol. 409v. Reproduced with permission of the British Library.

we will return to below.[180] It contains, for the most part, his correspondence between ambassadors he served as steward and business associates. When his correspondence and records do pertain to family, it does so in fiscal ways, such as the importation of exotic goods on behalf of his brother, Thomas Sanderson.[181] Sanderson's autobiographical narrative also focuses overwhelmingly on his career, much like other life-writing accounts of the period. In his 'recorde of the birthe and fortunes of John Sanderson', he wrote about his apprenticeship, the nature of his travels around the Levant (including his evasion of capture, shipwreck, and illness), his time served as deputy ambassador when the English Ambassador accompanied the Sultan to Hungary, and his lucrative importation of fish teeth.[182] Sanderson's 'record' appears more 'personal' than other life-writing accounts at first glance in that he is honest about less respectable aspects of his life such as bouts of drunkenness and violence. For example, he got drunk with his associates on *aqua vita* or *raki* on route to Patras, Greece, and he punched William Aldrich several times in front of the English Ambassador.[183] He was also especially candid in his assessment of some of his associates; he described the English consul in Algiers, a man named Tipton, as 'a wicked athiesticall knave', one John Ties was 'no trewe believer', and Jacomo Helman was labelled 'a trewe deceiver'.[184]

These moments and sentiments may seem personal but these events happened in contexts intrinsically tied to Sanderson's occupation as a merchant, and thus his 'public' persona. The division between public and private was blurred, especially in predominantly homosocial spheres of sociability, which defined much of the merchant-

[180] Buylaert and Haemers, 'Record Keeping and Status Performance'.
[181] BL MS Lansdowne 241. See fols. 349v–350r for an example of correspondence with the ambassador and fols. 366v–367v for goods procured for Thomas Sanderson.
[182] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fols. 237v–243r.
[183] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fol. 240r.
[184] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fols. 240v, 241r.

adventurers' lifestyle. Travelling merchants were constantly surrounded by other men, pulled far from their families and English social mores in a land far away. Drunkenness, whoring, and interpersonal conflict naturally occurred at home, but the removal of social pressures which required respectability gave men abroad freer licence to misbehave, and this misbehaviour would have occurred within social circles consisting of fellow merchants bonded by shared language, religion, and occupation. Sanderson got drunk whilst procuring goods to be shipped back to England. He beat Alrich because of Alrich's social manoeuvring and manipulation of the English Ambassador to Sanderson's detriment both economically and socially by infringing on his honour. And Tipton, Ties, and Helman were all men with whom Sanderson did business. While his inclusion of these less savoury aspects of his life was somewhat unusual, this material still overwhelming pertains to his professional network and career.

This emphasis on Sanderson's professional life is evidence of a highly selective impulse in his record-keeping. The manuscript is curated to tell a particular story through records and their relationships to each other. Like most literate people, Sanderson would have had private correspondence with family as well, but these do not appear to be included in his text; his letters pertain to business and the sharing of news from the Levant with correspondents back in England. Instead the text is an archive of his professional life. It is not, as Sanderson suggests, an archive of all aspects of his life, and the use of transcribed copies of letters and documents to create his archive, rather than the binding together of originals, forces the reader to take it on faith that Sanderson has included all his correspondence, or indeed all relevant documents. And it is clear he has not. While there are some accounts included in the text, it is very clear that Sanderson did not deem it necessary to include all of his financial accounts in this archive of his life. This further emphasises the point that Sanderson chose to include particular documents that he deemed important in the creation of his archive. The documents he did choose not only stressed his professional life, but the interpersonal

relationships that he had with people in the context of this professional life. Relationships were the cogs in the mechanism of the process of establishing credibility and reputation. Sanderson's archive was made public as an act of status performance for posterity.

Sanderson monumented his occupation and status as a merchant. This recalls the findings of chapter three where it was argued that monuments were created in textual forms to self-fashion masculine identity and commemorate it, and that this act of commemoration was a part of performing masculinity itself. Sanderson articulated some of the ideals of mercantile status such as the attainment of freedom from the company, and prosperity. He wrote in his 'autobiographical' entry in the archive that he went to the Netherlands to receive freedom from the Company of Merchant-Adventurers, although he complained that his master, Martin Calthorp, refused to pay for his passage and other charges for him to receive his freedom; Sanderson went at his own expense in 1588.[185] Sanderson experienced some prosperity and acquired some prestige over the course of his career. He was appointed deputy ambassador when Edward Barton accompanied the new Sultan, Mehmet III, to Hungary as a mediator in war talks in 1596. This is noted in Sanderson's life-writing in his discussion of his fraught relationship with the ambassador but wrote that 'for all disdaine, the ambassiator at last was behoulding to me, for I furnished him with 5,000 crouns at his departur for the warrs and was his deputie in Constantinople six monethes. His retorne was safe. I mett him decently, as befitted'.[186] He noted on the very first page in the manuscript, preceding the title page, that 'the 2 day of July 1596 the Inglish Ambassador departed for the Hungarish warrs' with the Sultan, and that 'of his absence I John Sanderson supplied his presence in Constantinople'.[187] This position of privilege was also marked by a copy of Barton's

[185] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fols. 239r–239v.
[186] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fol. 241r.
[187] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fol. 1r.

patent which made Sanderson his deputy, and some correspondence during his tenure.[188] Despite interpersonal conflict, it was Sanderson who was best suited in Barton's eyes to represent English interests while he was away. This implies that Sanderson embodied the values that were expected of early modern men in leadership such as prudence and good husbandry, and he left the ambassador money in the bank.

Sanderson's prosperity was, unsurprisingly, expressed fiscally within his life-writing. He noted his economic prosperity following his return to England after his second stint in the Levant in 1598. He wrote:

> Nowe I safely arived in Ingland the second time frome Constantinople, whear nere seven years I had at that time passed of this wourlds pilgrimage; usinge my smaule stocke, had some imployment for Master Cordell and others, with also factorage profitt of fishes teeth. Five per cent. for some I put to accompt, four for othersome, and four per cent, for all the busines I did, except Master Cordells, for which I toke what Wm. Aldrich would alowe me. The seahorsses teeth was a very luckie marchandice. One parcell, cost in Ingland but £205 8s. 10d., mad them above 2000 ducats gould in Constantinople, and ther retorne frome Alepo must needs be more then 1000/2. sterling. Such lucke scarce happens in a mans lifetime. Other teeth that came after weare dearer bought and for lesse sould; yet of them also a very great reconinge. Thus plainge the gentilman, agent, and merchaunt, all my paines yealded me, by Gods permition, 30 cwt. of nutmeggs, all my expences and chargis defraid; also £50 by exchange I received of Morris Abbott, that had delivered of mine for his use at Aleppo. Heare was my estate, and 500 crounes I left in Turkie untill my retorne; with a rest in the hands of Master N. Salter.[189]

Sanderson outlined his fiscal gains from his time abroad and demonstrated his success as a merchant. First and foremost, mercantile success was the ability to make profits in a trade that was far from secure with the risks of loss of life and of goods through piracy and shipwreck. Another way in which Sanderson performed the responsibilities and expectations of his profession was to take on an apprentice, John Hanger, to whom

[188] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fols. 51r–52r.
[189] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fols. 242r–242v.

Sanderson 'discharged my contience towards God concerning him and did him good assueredly'.[190] Secondly, it lay in one's ability to follow through on one's obligations in business, and with family. Sanderson noted that he raised the portion he paid for his sister's marriage above £100 in order to secure her a more advantageous marriage.[191] As the eldest son, Sanderson played the role of patriarch to look after his family.

Sanderson's moral slips, such as drunkenness, violence, and other misfortunes do not square with the general trend toward exemplarity and archetypical ideals in early modern commemoration. However, these events, when accompanied by an interpretive gloss, do offer an opportunity to defend reputation and thus restore and rebalance honour. The best example of this is his conflict with his apprentice, John Hanger. In the manuscript Sanderson provided the letters outlining the alleged breach of contract between himself and Hanger's father when the younger Hanger left Sanderson's employ with five years left to serve.[192] The violence and uncensored judgment of his peers led Sir William Foster, who edited selections from Lansdowne MS 241 for a 1931 Hakluyt Society publication, to diplomatically attribute to Sanderson 'a peevish and resentful disposition, and therefore was unlikely to make friends'.[193] Sanderson had his human faults and foibles. In a commemorative culture where conformity to ideals and archetypes was expected, an interpretive gloss was needed to direct the reader's attention and ensure a more favourable estimation of a monument's subject.

This is achieved in the context of the Hanger controversy in several ways. Sanderson provided a list of bad behaviours exhibited by his apprentice. This included 'vaine spendinge his fathers mony', his 'evell demeanor in the shipp, brablinge and

[190] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fol. 242v.
[191] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fol. 242v.
[192] William Foster's introduction outlines this controversial affair in greater depth. See John Sanderson, 'The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant, 1584–1602', ed. Sir William Foster, *Hakluyt Society*, 2nd ser., 67 (1931), p. xxxv.
[193] Sanderson, *The Travels of John Sanderson*, p. ix.

fightinge with some of them', 'his dronkennesse, curssinge, swearinge, and discontent', idleness, whoring, allegedly false accusations of Sanderson's misdealing with him, and the very serious accusation of 'Scribled to no purpose divers whole sheets of paper; of which beinge warned, malitiouslie to make amends did the like in his maisters great booke (this booke)'. [194] Using this list, Sanderson undermined his apprentice's reputation and any claims to credibility. Sanderson also described the series of correspondence regarding the contractual breach as a 'warre' implying intentional conflict that was a slight to Sanderson's honour, and displayed a lack of honour on the part of Hanger and his father in breaking the contract. He wrote the following

> Nowe to my paine I toke an apprentice, who was a great crosse to me; yet I discharged my contience towards God concerning him and did him good assueredly, thoughe he had a murtherouse hart and injuried me exceadingly, as may be seene in some part of this booke. But God Almightie had His wourke; all good for my soule, and so I applie it. For I was markt and mortified emongest that contentiouse crue.[195]

Here Sanderson explicitly stated that he fulfilled his contractual obligations to Hanger, despite the fact that Hanger was allegedly undeserving of the efforts. This is further emphasised by the inclusion of information about how much Sanderson paid to maintain Hanger's room and board with the correspondence.[196] This amount was grossly exaggerated to the sum of £800, further suggestive of the interpretive gloss that Sanderson placed on his account.[197] Finally, Sanderson described his relationship with his apprentice as providential and in Christian terms. Sanderson did his Christianly duty toward his unruly apprentice and stated that he took God's wishes in stride. Sanderson

[194] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fols. 182v–183v.
[195] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fol. 242v.
[196] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fols. 180r–180v.
[197] Sanderson, *The Travels of John Sanderson*, p. xxxv.

framed the narrative so that the reader of his manuscript would conclude that he was the archetypical dutiful master and that his apprentice was the sole source of conflict.

Sanderson's Protestant identity manifested itself in his textual monument as well. Providence shaped much of Sanderson's interpretation of his life, which allowed his commemorative archive to monument both himself and divine will. Escape from disease and death – both accidental and premeditated – is a recurring theme within Sanderson's text. One example is particularly illustrative. At the end of his third sojourn in Constantinople, Sanderson undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to visit Jerusalem. Here Sanderson encountered some 'Popish friers' with whom he disputed issues of religion. Sanderson then alleged that these friars, with 'mallice for [his] distaining Popish superstition', sought to have him apprehended by their brothers in Tripoli and that they wished to make mischief. This was done through collaboration with Jewish business associates to lure Sanderson to the streets near their residence where he was shot at and missed on two separate occasions. 'By gods power' Sanderson 'escaped their snares'.[198] Descriptions of providential intervention also accompany descriptions of Sanderson's recovery from other misfortunes such as his contraction of dysentery in Aleppo, and his survival of a shipwreck near Rosetta in Egypt.[199]God's will, we can recall, also played a part in Sanderson's struggles to overcome the fallout with Hanger. God was also the source of Sanderson's prosperity; finishing his account of the end of his last journey to Constantinople, Sanderson credited God with his successes, writing 'This voyadge for ornament without; the last, for comfort within; all in aboundance. The

[198] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fols. 242v–243r.
[199] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fols. 240v, 238v.

God of heaven and yearth be gloryfied ever for His great and exceadinge mercies infinitely powered uppon me, His most unwourthy servant'.[200]

Another godly aspect of his life-writing is the underlining of both incidents of beneficial providence and sin in the text in a lighter different ink, suggesting that Sanderson returned to his text and reused it in a similar fashion as a spiritual diary, taking stock of his sins and his gifts of divine intervention.[201] Providence appears in the interpretive framework of some of the other records. Appended to a copy of a letter seeking a business relationship with a Mr. Thomas Haies in 1589, Thomas Sanderson noted his wish to never to return to Turkey at the time, but that 'The Almighty hath seene good' that he had made several journeys there since then.[202] Providential interpretation of the events of one's life in textual monuments operated to create a monument to God.

The intended audience or users of an archive shaped its form, its curation, and access to it. Why did Sanderson create an archive and how does the concept of patrimony complicate it? Sanderson remained a bachelor, which in many instances was an eschewal of the obligations of the family heir and raises questions regarding why Sanderson created his archive and its commemorative function. While the history of ownership of Sanderson's manuscript between his death and its deposit in the British Museum as part of the Lansdowne collection is unknown, there is no reason to suppose that Sanderson's text was not passed on to his brother or other kin. His family could have used Sanderson's manuscript for didactic edification like other family-circulated monuments. William Forster suggested that a now-lost companion volume was lent to

[200] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fol. 243r.
[201] Sanderson, *The Travels of John Sanderson,* p. xxxviii.
[202] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fol. 341r.

Henry Sanderson, a far more elite and prosperous family member, for the space of five years, suggesting that Sanderson's manuscript did circulate in kin networks.[203]

Regardless of who received Sanderson's manuscript after his death, his monument was a site that preserved his memory as there were no male progeny to remember and monument him as an act of filial duty. Peter Sherlock has argued that the erection of grandiose funerary monuments in public spaces was one strategy used to commemorate the memory of military men who had died childless in battle, and Anne Clifford's 'Great Bookes' were archival monuments that commemorated the greatness of Anne and the Clifford family, which had no surviving male heirs. Her archives were passed onto her daughter's sons.[204] Sanderson's self-memorialising efforts occurred on a grand scale; at 400 folios, MS Lansdowne 241 is the longest personal manuscript by a single author examined in this dissertation. With no male heirs, Sanderson and his text lacked the usual audience of the didactic exemplarity that defined monuments. There was no son to receive the edificatory messages the manuscript holds. This suggests, ironically, that the purpose of the archive is solely commemorative; it does not provide the professional utility that guided the monumenting efforts of civic and parochial authorities, nor does it provide the professional or official 'usefulness' that fathers provided sons as part of their patriarchal duties. The lack of a defined audience complicates the notion of patrimony in defining the translation of archives from muniments to monuments. It is only one part of defining the archive, and Sanderson's intentions for posterity, even if only generally defined, matter.

Sanderson had other motivations for monumenting beyond self-commemoration. A later entry added to Sanderson's 'autobiographical' text, written roughly around 1610,

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[203] Sanderson, *The Travels of John Sanderson*, p. xxix.
[204] Peter Sherlock, 'Militant Masculinity and the Monuments of Westminster Abbey', in *Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period: Regulating Selves and Others*, eds. Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline van Gent (Farnham, 2011), pp. 131–153; and see above, chapter 3.

is suggestive of motivations born out of filial duty. In 1622, Sanderson made the following addition:

> Thus, by the power and permition of God Almightie, I have, as you see, filled this booke with the passages of my worldly pilgrimadge hetherunto. Now have I noted also in another great booke much of this discourse and the proceed of my life led in this world to the 62th yeare of my adge. Thes two great bookes weare my fathers before I was boarne, and should have bine filled with other accompts, yf God had pleased to prosper his tradinge. But the Lord in His great mercie did never lett him nor his waunt that that was always suffitient, and about 44 years since He toke him to Himselfe.[205]

This archive, and its now lost companion manuscript,[206] are monuments to Sanderson, but also a monument to the unfulfilled possibilities of the elder Sanderson. The books 'shoulde have bine filled with other accompts', had his father been more prosperous in his trade as a textile seller of hat and cap linings. Sanderson's father, Thomas Sanderson, suffered for several years with a 'wenn' or cyst that caused him chronic pain, and its surgical removal eventually led to the elder Sanderson's death. This had allowed Sanderson's business to suffer but, as the younger Sanderson is keen to point out, 'he died in meane estate, thoughe not poore; for since his bad chapmen ruinated his occupienge [i.e. trading] he, havinge discharged his owne debts to the uttermost peny, and some of other mens, had enoughe to doe to defraye the charge he had'.[207] His father had suffered and was not wealthy but he was a credible and respectable man. In using his father's would-be accounting books as his archive, Sanderson filled their pages with evidence of his own economic success. Sanderson's recording of his own successes in his father's account books righted the absence of his father's prosperity. Sanderson's inclusion of his father in the text is a way of commemorating his father and himself, but the creation of a monument that shows that he achieved all his father could not is also a

[205] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fol. 243r.
[206] Sanderson, *The Travels of John Sanderson*, p. ix.
[207] BL MS Lansdowne 241, fol. 237v.

demonstration of filial duty. Patrimony was not solely defined by a future audience; it could be retrospective as well. Even without a defined inheritor of an archive, monumenting and record-keeping was a way to fulfil the expectations of early modern men.

Sanderson's archive did not start out as a site of commemoration but it evolved into one over the course of Sanderson's adult life. His archive in form and content was dictated by the demands, expectations, and realities of mercantile life. Fiscal prosperity, homosocial and professional relationships, the protection of honour, travels around the Levant, and providential protection from the dangers of piracy, shipwreck, and disease fill the pages that document Sanderson's life in prose and in collections of records. In recording this information Sanderson controlled the narrative his documentary life conveyed, and self-fashioned his mercantile identity. Thus, he attempted to avoid the dangers of oblivion which could accompany bachelorhood and performed his filial duty to his father.

Conclusion

The early modern archive was dynamic, commemorative, and contingent. At the heart of the process of creating the archive was the intentional selection, compilation, curation, omission, and other decisions made by compilers to shape their archives. In the parish, the church register, the churchwardens' accounts, and other miscellaneous 'official' parish documents preserved communal memory and socio-political structures through the use of marginalia, additional information, transcription and interpretive glosses. The legal requirement to keep the register allowed these documents to become relatively stable monuments that commemorated universally, in sharp contrast to the more selective remembrance rituals of the pre-Reformation period. However, men in power sought to prevent the potentially disruptive nature of universal remembrance by commemorating socio-economic status and providing commentary which resituated the

deceased within the community in the parish records. In some cases, parish documents became sites of commemoration of the compilers and sites of self-fashioning.

Similar processes can be seen in civic histories that triumphantly stood as monuments to the city through the preservation of legal documents. Like parish records, the creation of civic histories and the preservation of documents was also strictly controlled by those in power, who curated narratives to meet their own aims and limited access to communal memory to a select few. They created monuments to themselves while commemorating the city.

These processes are also evident in the personal archive of John Sanderson. Sanderson's manuscript, like parish and civic archives, made claims to be comprehensive and all-encompassing. But when interrogated further, it too was a site of selective curation that used records to self-fashion and memorialise his mercantile identity, particularly his prosperity. Sanderson was a disagreeable man, and his text allowed him to control the narrative of his conflicts with colleagues and his apprentice in such a way as to portray himself embodying the ideals of his mercantile status. As a childless bachelor, Sanderson's manuscript offered him the ability to memorialise himself, but the manuscript also allowed him to perform his filial duty to commemorate his father through fulfilling the goals his father never realised in his lifetime. While the form that Sanderson's monument took was somewhat unusual in its scale and overt archivality, his intentions and the processes used to construct his text were very similar to those employed by other English men in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

These three types of early modern archives lend strength to Head's notion of archivality and the role of power and authority in shaping them. From the parish to the city to the individual, notions of power and authority and its assertion, preservation, and defence shaped early modern record-keeping efforts. Several strategies were employed to achieve these aims, including marginalia, transcription and copying, organisation, the

writing of prose narrative, and selective publication. However, we must bear in mind that the preservation of power and authority is not intrinsic to all archives – Sanderson's archive certainly displayed his power and authority, but his primary purpose was to preserve a record for posterity and economic utility. Moreover, subordinates took part in archiving practices suggested by the presence of John Hanger's hand in Sanderson's archive and Anne Clifford's 'Great Books of Record'. Their archiving efforts operated within the confines of power and authority, but they exercised agency as well, as Hanger's petty scribbling reminds us.

The processes of selection and organisation allowed the early modern archive to take on a variety of forms from collections of separate manuscripts to the single codex. This is a reminder that scholars need to privilege the processes of creation and the motivations of compilers in mind when studying the early modern archive, rather than focus on strict descriptions of form and limit our definition of the archive to legal or national repositories or to the contents of muniments rooms and dusty shelves. The intention to leave behind a collection of documents for posterity shaped the archiving efforts of churchwardens, parsons, civic officials, and Sanderson, although the reasons behind this intention could vary. An intrinsic motivation to these archiving impulses was edification by example, even in instances where the intended recipients of this didactic message was unknown or less defined. Sanderson's monument reminds us that the usefulness of patrimony has its limits, and that scholars need to pay attention to other motivations such as duty and retrospection as well. Patrimony translated muniments into monuments. This intrinsically suggests that commemoration was an integral purpose of the early modern archive, on both the communal and individual level. As scholarship expands on the early modern archive, we need to keep this commemorative function in mind, and how it affected how early modern compilers used and created archives. If the archive was strictly a site of legal utility, much of what compilers like John Hooker or Thomas Archer recorded would be useless – why else would these men record

autobiographical information? Furthermore, if the suggestions that monumenting was an act of masculinity made in chapter two are persuasive, we need to appreciate the archive as an extension of gender performance in addition to status performance.

John Sanderson spent much of his life away from England and its culture. Yet his archive carries traces of the types of processes that created communal archives, echoes of the impact of religious change, and hints of the concerns and expectations of mature men. Furthermore, his manuscript recalls the multivalent meanings of the term 'monument' with which this dissertation started. His manuscript is a collection of documentary 'monuments' that commemorate himself and his father as a textual monument. The fact that these processes manifested themselves in the archive kept by a man who spent so many years away from England speaks to the pervasive strength of the textual monument tradition that developed in Elizabethan and early Stuart England.

Conclusion

This study has illuminated several facets of early modern textual commemoration. Although textual monuments existed in the medieval period, print and the consequent expansion of literacy led to an increasingly textual commemorative sphere in the early modern period. The Reformation fundamentally altered the relationship the living had with the dead, led to an ambivalence toward traditional memorial practices, and necessitated a reorientation of the function of monuments as sources of edification and sites of celebration of salvation. These developments influenced the ways in which early modern people thought about monumentality, and how they used monumentality to respond to cultural change. The Reformation led to the adaptation of the content and form of monuments. The Protestant re-emphasis on providential power resurrected the Old Testament practice of memorialising God and His divine will. An increased diversity of textual commemoration emerged in response to a recovered Protestant confidence in commemoration, although it was sensitive to the same pressures and concerns that affected physical monuments. Patriarchs used their textual monuments to self-fashion their elite masculinity, commemorating themselves according to the ideals and virtues of their status as mature, householding men. Monuments were not only sites of self-fashioning; rather, the act of monumenting itself was another responsibility placed on the shoulders of men in early modern England. Archives were, and still are, places of cultural patrimony, where the past is preserved for the benefit of the future. Archives were sites where their compilers used a variety of methods to exert their power and authority in order to maintain social hierarchy and to commemorate themselves. Far from all-inclusive and all-encompassing, the early modern archive was a space of selective curation.

To return to the initial question this thesis started with – what were monuments in early modern England and what was their meaning – what do these developments tell us about early modern monumentality and memory? Early modern conceptions of monumentality were diverse and dynamic, and encompassed a variety of media including funeral effigies and infrastructure, and a vast array of textual forms such as epitaphs, written records, archives, sermons, broadsides, domestic manuscripts, and parish registers. Crucial to understanding textual monumentality was the intention of remembrance. This intentionality could be explicit and shape the entire creation of a textual monument, such as in Robert Furse's 'family memoirs', but it could also develop over time, as we saw in the case of John Sanderson's archive. Intentionality could also apply to specific pages or entries within other mnemonic documents, such as the miscellanies and notebooks of men such as Lancelot Ridley, John Ramsey, and Richard Wilton.

Textual monuments were far from static sites - they were spaces of negotiation. Monumentality and its edificatory purpose necessitated the expression of exemplary ideals of gender, rank, piety, and power. Men had to be responsible, mature providers and paragons of leadership and discipline. Protestants had to display the marks of election according to Protestant doctrine. Civic archives had to assert institutional power, authority and legitimacy. Fissures threatened these exemplary representations. Pre-Reformation relatives held beliefs that were no longer tolerated in the English Church, like Robert Furse's grandfather. Men like John Norgate struggled to live up to the expectations created by the emphasis on exemplar manhood. Bureaucratic changes such as the introduction of the parish registers potentially destabilised the exclusive nature of traditional sites of remembrance. Strategies for coping with these changes included equivocation, omission, transcription, interpretive glosses, editorial decisions, and control of accessibility.

Commemoration on the page was produced in a cultural world that valued utility. Textual monuments employed various cultural forms, objects, and ideas - both new and old - that were available in their construction. 'Monumental' language or architectural forms shaped commemorative broadsides and sermons. Existing forms of life-writing were appropriated by ministers in their sermons. Some writers pre-emptively prepared or hoped for this textual mining; Thomas Archer's autobiographical epitaph very well could have been included in a funeral sermon or engraved into a monumental brass. Practices of writing such as accounting, commonplacing, parish register keeping, and sermon writing were used as templates to guide monumentors in their composition of textual monuments. Textual spaces such as archives, commonplace books, parish registers, and family bibles housed textual monuments to both individuals and communities, in some cases becoming entire monuments in and of themselves. Older ideas, such as the biblical understanding of monuments as sites of divine memorialisation, were resurrected in response to new ideas such as predestinarian theology. New technological advances like the printing press allowed these intellectual ideas and developments to circulate in print and fostered the translation of cultural forms across media.

This study has helped to bring some aspects of memory and monumentality in early modern England into sharper relief. However, there remain fruitful avenues for further research. While this study has focused on the textual world of monumentality, it has suggested that a symbiotic relationship existed between textual commemoration and architectural or physical monuments, as in the case of the commemorative broadsides dedicated to Richard Stocke and John Banckes, or John Norgate's manuscript 'proceedings' and the portrait of his stepfather Nicholas Felton. This suggests that case studies of commemorative strategies should be interdisciplinary and multimedia in their approach. Studies of gentry families would benefit from an examination and comparison of their physical monuments, both within the church or domestic interiors of homes,

alongside the textual. Moreover, we need to consider texts such as commonplace books, libraries, and archives as part of these commemorative endeavours.

Religious identity and rank played an important role in shaping the content, form, and meaning of monuments. Examination of Catholic and nonconformist use of textual monuments would help paint a broader picture of textual commemoration and allow for comparison between confessional groups and their monuments. For example, the Leicestershire recusant Thomas Shirley's writings suggests that Catholics emphasised chivalric concepts of virtue and honour, and the continuation of lineage. This focus contrasts with the Protestant emphasis on virtue by merit and on service to the commonwealth. This is due to the exclusion of Catholics from holding public office.[1] Furthermore, narratives of persecution were integral to the construction of Catholic and nonconformist piety and self-fashioning alike.[2] Persecution featured prominently in Quaker life-writing, which was often used to consolidate their sense of belonging and to commemorate their brethren.[3] There is much to be gained from a multi-confessional exploration of textual monumentality. More broadly, study of the relationship between textual monuments and social memory would add further complexities to our understanding of how societies used texts to give meaning to their past.

This dissertation contends that to write in early modern England was to monument. But does that hold true at the end of the seventeenth century? The elegy, the funeral sermon, and the forms of notebooks and diaries examined in this dissertation

[1] Richard Cust, 'Catholicism, Antiquarianism and Gentry Honour: The Writings of Sir Thomas Shirley', *Midland History* 23 (1998), pp. 48–51. On Catholic counter-archives see Liesbeth Corens, 'Dislocation and Record-Keeping: The Counter Archives of the Catholic Diaspora', in 'The Social History of the Archive', eds. Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters, and Alexandra Walsam, *Past and Present* 230, supplement 11 (2016), pp. 269–287. Alexandra Walsham, 'Relics, Writing and Memory in the English Counter Reformation: Thomas Maxwell and his Afterlives', *British Catholic History* 34 (2018), pp. 77–105.
[2] Cust, 'Catholicism, Antiquarianism and Gentry Honour,' pp.56–58.
[3] Brooke Sylvia Palmieri, 'Truth and Suffering in the Quaker Archives', in *Archives and Information in the Early Modern World*, eds. Alexandra Walsham, Kate Peters, and Liesbeth Corens (London, 2018), pp. 239–262.

reached their zenith in the early to mid-seventeenth century, gradually giving way to other types of writing like memoirs and the obituary. Did the relationship between memory and commemoration change with new forms of writing, and if so how? Extending the chronological scale of the study would also help crystallise the relationship between texts, monumentality, and memory in Tudor and Stuart England and beyond.

This study demonstrates the utility of inclusive and broad understandings of concepts like monumentality and archivality. Reorientation of scholarly analysis toward the function of texts, and the motivations, interests, and preoccupations of their compilers and away from generic convention allows us to better appreciate the agency exercised in the creation of our primary sources, and the various social and cultural processes that informed them. It allows us to understand how the Reformation and Protestant theology shifted people's conception of their relationship with the past, present and future, and with the cultural and material world around them. This study has illuminated how memory was recorded in a wide variety of textual forms and helps expand our understanding of early modern people's relationship to them. It illuminates the entangled relationship between personal and social or collective memory and underlines the need to take both into consideration in further studies of early modern memory. It demonstrates the fruitfulness of a memory-centric approach to studying a period in time that experienced several cultural shifts that necessitated a reimagining of the cultural importance of monumentality and its relationship to memory. The result of this reimagining was monumenting on the page.

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